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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE I.L.P. SABOTAGES THE UNITED FRONT*

THE Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in its letter to the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain (published in the "Daily Worker" on September 23, 1933), on the basis of the decision of the Conference of the Independent Labour Party at Derby, which decided in favour of assisting the work of the Comintern, proposed to raise for discussion in all the Party organisations of the I.L.P. the question:—

(1) What mass actions on the basis of the united front of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the I.L.P. can and must be carried on in the near future with the aim of a successful struggle for a 10 per cent. increase in wages, against the Means Test and other partial demands put forward by the C.P.G.B. and the I.L.P.?

(2) Is it desirable for the I.L.P. to enter the Communist International according to Paragraph 18 of the statutes of the Communist International as a Party sympathetic to Communism, with the right of a consultative voice?

Instead of replying to the essence of the proposals of the E.C.C.I., the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P., in its third letter on October 6, 1933, limited itself to a formal statement that it is willing to "continue" to collaborate with the C.P.G.B. and to work out the points of a programme (or joint actions) and that regarding the second point—on joining the Comintern—it would "discuss the matter with the members of the party at the next annual conference, where a decision would be made," for which it would give instructions to its international sub-commission to prepare a detailed platform for the meeting of the National Council.

At the same time it brings forward more and more fresh charges against the Communist International.

These new charges are that the E.C.C.I., firstly, does not help to clear up the questions under discussion, since it "utilises the correspondence for the purpose of propaganda inside the I.L.P."; that secondly, the International, owing to the "long delay in replying to the letter of July 7," takes the responsibility for the fact that "no decision was taken, although six months have passed since the Council first wrote to the E.C.C.I.," and that thirdly, the statement of the Communist International "regarding the position of the I.L.P. at the recent Paris conference of Left parties is definitely wrong" and that fourthly, the National Council does not agree that the "open criticism of the policy of the Communist International," i.e., the "criticism" contained in the previous letter of the National Council and in the anti-Soviet articles of Brockway, are "harmful to the interests of the workers."

First of all we ask the workers in the I.L.P. whether it can be called propaganda which interferes with the clearing up of the questions under discussion when we bring to light those who are concretely responsible for systematically dragging out the organisation of the struggle in the united front, when we show up the Left reformists in the I.L.P. who are trying to upset the decisions of the conference at Derby on "assistance for the work of the Comintern"?

We ask whether the British workers can carry on a victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie, against Fascism and war, if they do not remove from their ranks those who interfere with and upset this struggle.

Soon after the split of the I.L.P. from the Labour Party, the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which took place in November, 1932, welcomed this step forward and called on the members of the I.L.P. to join with the Communists in the united front of struggle against the National Government.

In many big actions of the working class, especially in the hunger march on London, the members of the I.L.P. took an active part in the struggle together with the Communists. In March, soon after the publication of the appeal of the E.C.C.I. on the united front, agreement was reached between the I.L.P. and the C.P.

The appeal of the E.C.C.I. on the united front in March was made at a moment when the temporary victory of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany had plainly showed to the workers where the treacherous policy of the Social-Democrats in splitting the working class and joining with the Fascist bourgeois was leading, and increased the striving of the working masses towards the united front of struggle together with the Communists.

However, we know that this turn was accompanied by an intensification of the struggle inside the I.L.P. The National Council tried to limit the united front to a struggle against Fascism and war. It did not accept the proposal of the Communist Party to extend it to the struggle against the Means Test, wage-cuts and other

* Reprinted from the "London Daily Worker," January, 1934.

partial slogans of the everyday struggle of the working class against capital.

This attempt to restrict the united front to joint action against war and Fascism and to pass by the urgent questions of the struggle of the British workers was in reality sabotage of the united front.

This first act of sabotage of the united front by the leaders of the I.L.P. was broken from below. The London and Lancashire districts made an agreement with the organisations of the Communist Party, which also included points on the struggle against the Means Test, against wage-cuts, etc., and the National Council was obliged to change its position.

The April conference of the I.L.P. at Derby opened the second stage in the struggle for the united front. This conference not only made a decision to widen the united front to all questions of the everyday class struggle, but adopted a resolution for the I.L.P. to assist in the work of the Comintern.

This resolution was passed in face of strong opposition from the National Council.

In this struggle at the conference the existence of two lines — the revolutionary and the Left reformist—was clearly shown.

While the majority of the delegates representing the revolutionary working masses of the members of the I.L.P. demanded collaboration with the Communist International, the official representative of the leadership of the I.L.P., Paton, spoke (1) against collaboration with the Comintern, (2) for collaboration with the Left Social-Fascist parties, and (3) for the "formation of one all-embracing workers' International."

The leaders of the I.L.P. were compelled formally to take up the position of the conference decision and to agree to negotiations with the Communist Party, but in practice they continued to sabotage any rapprochement with the Comintern.

The second letter of the National Council of the I.L.P. to the Comintern (dated July 7, 1933, the first letter was merely a formal statement as to the contents of the resolution) was already fully in the spirit of the Left reformist struggle against the Communist International.

While advocating in words the policy declared by the congress at Derby, the letter of the National Council stated that the "catastrophic" (!) situation of the international workers' movement is explained by the "failure" not only of the Second International, but of the Comintern, that the Communist International "hindered the united actions of the working class, which alone was able to break the power of Fascism and capitalism."

Continuing its correspondence with the Communist International, i.e., formally not breaking away from the decisions of its congress, the National Council at the same time sent its delegates to the Paris Congress of Left Socialist Parties, thus resuscitating the policy of struggle against the Communist International and the revolutionary workers' movement, which was proposed by Paton, but rejected by the congress at Derby.

All this, together with the anti-Soviet articles of Mr. Brockway, compelled the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to state in its last (second) letter to the Independent Labour Party (published in the "Daily Worker" on September 23, 1933) that there is a danger that the assistance in the work of the Comintern which was decided on by the conference at Derby may be disrupted.

The struggle of the National Council against the Comintern coincided with the attacks of the open Rights in the I.L.P. on the united front.

What did the open Rights in the I.L.P. do after this?

One after another came decisions of the Executive Committees of a number of District Councils of the I.L.P. to "decline" to collaborate with the Communist Party (the Lancashire circular signed by Sandham, etc.), or to restrict the sphere of action of the united front (E.C. of the Yorkshire District Council, etc.).

Thus there is an open mutiny of some of the officials of the Party, who were known previously as opponents of the united front, against the masses of members of their own Party who had determined the decision of the Party Conference, a mutiny inspired by some of the leaders of the National Council (Paton).

What is the characteristic feature of the line of the majority of the leaders of the I.L.P. during this period?

How did the majority of the National Council defend the united front from this attack?

They did not do anything against these open agents of reformism. The National Council limited itself to passing a belated resolution of protest, and preserved complete silence (not reacting in any way) when the rank-and-file members of the Party began to demand the removal of Sandham, Abbot and others by people who were prepared to carry out the decisions of the conference (see resolution of the Liverpool organisation).

There cannot be any doubt about this silence.

Did not Sandham begin his attack immediately after the publication in the "New Leader" of Brockway's article with attacks on the Comintern and the Soviet Union? This article served as a signal for the extreme Rights to carry on a further offensive. It was a guarantee that their attack would not meet with any resistance from the official leaders.

It is true that the majority of the National Council accepted (?) the "new policy," declaring in words their "loyalty" to the united front, the necessity for carrying on a daily struggle against capitalism, and even their strivings towards the organisation of a united revolutionary party.

But deeds speak louder than words. The "struggle" of the National Council for the united front was all the time nothing but the formal acceptance of the proposals of the Communist Party without any attempt to organise actions, on the one hand, and an encouragement of a further policy of sabotage from the open Rights, on the other hand.

While the Rights like Sandham openly demanded a breach with the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Comintern, the breaking of the united front of struggle of the working-class, the official leaders of the I.L.P. (Brockway, etc.) in words advocated the united front, the "continuation of collaboration with the Communist Party and the Comintern," "protesting" against the resolution of the open reformists, thus making a pretence of a "struggle" against them, but in practice helped to break the united front, in reality established friendship with the enemies of the revolutionary movement, with the enemies of the Comintern, with the Left fragments of the Social-Fascist parties, with the Trotsky-Brandlerite lackeys of the Second International.

What is this but the division of labour between the Lefts and the Rights in sabotaging the decisions of the Derby conference?

Can the National Council complain under such circumstances if the Comintern appealed not only to the leaders, but to the entire party?

How else could the Comintern act if the members of the I.L.P., through their representatives at the conference, passed a decision to assist the work of the Comintern and later systematically decided in favour of the widening of the United front of struggle.

But the official leaders manoeuvre against the decision of their own party, create endless excuses, think out every kind of pretext so as not to submit to the direct instruction of the conference, so as to break down the policy of the united front under a plausible pretext.

And in the light of the facts which we have given the National Council decided to accuse the Comintern of "delaying" its replies and throws on to the Comintern the responsibility for the fact that "no decision has yet been made"!

The National Council really did not "delay" the despatch of its reply to the letters of the E.C.C.I. However, these letters, every one of them, being formal advisals on the one hand, and containing slanderous inventions against the E.C.C.I. on the other hand, were calculated on delaying the organisation of mass actions in the united front, and led to the danger of the disruption of the policy of assisting the work of the Comintern.

The Comintern welcomes every real step of the I.L.P., its lower organisations, its members, tending to extend the united front with the Communist Party.

It proposes the discussion at all Party meetings of the I.L.P. of the question of the I.L.P. joining the Comintern as a sympathising organisation.

But at the same time doubts arise as to the usefulness of continuing such a correspondence, when the proposals of the Comintern are only formally brought to the notice of the lower organisations and the members of the I.L.P., when nothing was done in practice to discuss the arguments and proposals of the Comintern fully in the whole Party.

Is it not evident from this that the correspondence is being used by the Left reformist leaders of the I.L.P., not with the aim of "assisting the work of the Comintern," but with the aim of sabotaging the decisions of their own Party, decisions with which, as we know, these leaders were not in agreement from the very start.

We now turn to the second group of questions, namely, how did the National Council reply to the proposal of the E.C.C.I. on the I.L.P. joining the Comintern as a sympathising organisation?

The I.L.P. leaders consent to "consult" the members of the party "at the next annual conference" with regard to the Comintern's proposal to the I.L.P. to affiliate to the Comintern as a sympathising party, and even instruct their International Sub-Committee to "prepare a detailed statement" on this uestqion.

However, the letter of the N.A.C. is careful to say nothing about the nature of the instructions which the N.A.C. has given to the International Sub-Committee — to give reasons for affiliation to the Comintern or, on the contrary, to express itself against affiliation. Or is this question of so little importance that it is left to the decision of the Sub-Committee itself?

Simultaneously with giving this formal reply to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the leaders of the I.L.P. hospitably give violent enemies of the Comintern and the Soviet Union, the counter-revolutionaries Trotsky, Thalheimer, and others, the opportunity to print in the central organ of the I.L.P. (the "New Leader" of October 13, 1933) slanderous articles against the Comintern and the Soviet Union.

It is significant that in the issue of the "New Leader" of April 13, 1933, the third letter of the N.A.C. to the Comintern was printed on a back page, evidently as concerning a question of no great importance, while in the limelight we have an interview with Mr. Trotsky and his letter to the I.L.P. on the organisation of a "Fourth International."

Thus we find all formal ceremonies carried out; correspondence is continued with the Communist International, and the N.A.C. even consents in time to "consult" the members of the Party on its proposals, but at the same time it tries to poison the minds of the members of the I.L.P. with social-Fascist, Trotskyist-Lovestonite propaganda; this is, moreover, done with every sort of bowing deference to internal Party "democracy" and with an appearance of an "impartiality" which nothing can upset.

The "impartiality" of the leaders of the I.L.P. and the editors of the "New Leader" consists, after welcoming the Trotskyist-Brandlerites to the pages of their organ, in inviting Comrade Manuilsky to take part in this "discussion" as well—a "discussion" which will be summed up by the "impartial" arbitrator, Mr. Fenner Brockway himself.

The "democracy" of the I.L.P. leaders consists in defending "open criticism" against the Comintern.

The Communist International has always expressed itself in favour of open and sincere criticism of the work of the Comintern and its sections, criticism which helps and assists revolutionary struggle for the cause of the working-class.

It is also well known that it is precisely the Comintern and its sections, and particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in distinction from the parties of the Second International, which did and do show actual examples of the most severe self-criticism, without which they do not consider it possible for a fighting revolutionary party to exist.

But at the same time the Communist International and the C.P.S.U. express themselves totally against "criticism" which does not correspond to the facts, which does not help but corrupts the ranks of the proletariat; which does not assist but breaks down the work of the Communist Parties.

Such criticism they do consider inimical to the interests of the workers, and against such criticism they wage a decided struggle.

But can the label of "assisting" in the work of the Comintern and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat be attached to Mr. Brockway's slanders against the Soviet Union which, he tells us, concluded an "agreement" with Japanese imperialism, "recognised" Manchukuo, and by means of prolonging the trade agreement with German Fascism, prevented the overthrow of Hitler's régime during its "early period of economic weakness"?

Of course it cannot. We have repeatedly (see particularly editorial in No. 20 of the "Communist International," 1933, on the correspondence between the I.L.P. and the C.I.), not only thoroughly established the slanderous nature of these statements, but exposed the significant fact that these are not original lies created by his own brain, but repetitions of the anti-Soviet statements of Trotsky, the filthiest enemy of the Comintern and the Soviet Union.

Can the label of "assisting" in the work of the Comintern be attached to the statement of the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. (see its second letter) on the "failure of the policy of the Communist International" and on the Comintern having "prevented that united action by the working-class, which alone could have defeated the forces of Fascism and capitalism"? Of course not.

The letter of the Comintern, published in the "Daily Worker" of September 23, 1933, shows concretely how the heroic Communist Party of Germany fought and is fighting self-sacrificingly under the leadership of the Comintern against Fascism in Germany, and how the Social-Democratic Party of Germany betrayed and continues to betray the interests of the anti-Fascist struggle of the proletariat.

Undoubtedly, also, all members of the I.L.P. followed the Fascist mock trial in Leipzig, and together with all the workers of the world marvelled at the heroism and devotion to the cause of Communism, the cause of the revolutionary struggle of the working-class, displayed by the Communists on trial who are faced with the menace of death at the hands of the Fascist murderers.

The "open and sincere criticism" of the policy of the Comintern practised by the National Council of the I.L.P. and certain of its leaders is not only not calculated to further the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the working-class, but, on the contrary, serves to defend the bourgeoisie and the struggle against the Comintern, although

it attempts to disguise itself by pseudo-revolutionary Left phrases.

We have already said that the Left reformist leaders of the I.L.P. are already helping Trotsky in setting up a "Fourth International" as a weapon of the fiercest struggle against the Comintern.

In its third letter, the National Council "categorically" refutes this assertion, referring to the published materials of the Paris Conference of Left Socialist Parties, which are supposed to show that the I.L.P. was "in opposition to any declaration for a new International" and carried on a "solitary struggle for amendment of the Conference declarations, which it believed to be unfair to the Communist International."

It is true, at the Paris Conference the I.L.P. delegates did "vote" against the declaration for the establishment of a Fourth International. What, however, were the reasons which prompted this vote, and what were the "amendments" proposed by the I.L.P. to the resolutions of the conference? The answers to these questions we find in Mr. Fenner Brockway's report on the "work" of the Paris Conference, published in the "New Leader" of September 1, 1933.

While the Trotskyists wrote at the Paris Conference of the "bankruptcy" of both the Second and Third International, the I.L.P. delegates proposed to make a "more exact statement," namely, that a distinction should be made between the "failure" of the Second and Third (!) International. ("The policy of the former is reformist . . . The latter started out with a revolutionary conception, but its tactics and organisation have made it ineffective in resisting Fascism.")

While the Trotskyists expressed themselves in favour of taking immediate steps for the establishment of a "Fourth" International, the delegates of the I.L.P., for tactical manœuvring purposes, spoke against such immediate steps. Mr. Brockway gives the arguments of the I.L.P. delegates as follows:—

> ". . . the I.L.P. was practically alone in urging that the possibility should not be ruled out of the Third International so changing its tactics and organisation as to allow it to be included within the unification of revolutionary parties."

The I.L.P. delegates know well enough that not only does the Comintern see no reasons for changing its Leninist tactics and organisation, which have been tested in tens of years of struggle, but it will never enter into any sort of negotiations on this question. Foreseeing this, the I.L.P. delegates made the following statement at this same Paris Conference:—

> "If the Third International proves unprepared to change its tactics and organisation, the time will have come to consider the formation of a new International."—(Fenner Brockway's article in the "New Leader" of September 8.)

Thus the National Council, stating in its third letter that it would "consult" the members of the party on affiliation to the Comintern, is, in fact, preparing the ground for declaring the Comintern "unprepared to change its tactics and organisation," and to draw the I.L.P. into the Trotskyist-Brandlerite Social-Fascist "International."

Let us remind the British workers, and in the first place the members of the I.L.P., that in 1933 their Left reformist leaders (Brockway and others) are, under new circumstances, repeating the manœuvre which Wallhead, Clifford Allen and others undertook in 1920, and even in the same forms; that manœuvre which they succeeded in carrying out and which brought the I.L.P. through the intermediate stage of belonging to the Two-and-a-Half International, to a return to the treacherous Second International.

Members of the I.L.P. will undoubtedly also demand from the Left reformist leaders of their party a perfectly open and unambiguous answer as to what it is that Mr. Brockway and others object to in the organisation and tactics of the Communist International; and in particular which of the 21 conditions adopted by the Second Congress of the Comintern are unacceptable for the leadership of the I.L.P.

And then the members of the I.L.P. will see with their own eyes that the vague and general expression used by their leaders about the unsatisfactory, as they say, "tactics and organisation" of the Comintern conceals the disagreement of the Left reformist leaders on radical questions of principle of the proletarian revolution; the question of the revolution by violence, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and bourgeois democracy, of Fascism and Social-Fascism, of democratic centralism and the rôle of the Party in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power and for Socialism.

The members of the I.L.P. are now faced with the question of what to do now. Shall they again follow the old ruinous road they followed in 1920 to 1923, or go boldly ahead to Communism?

The way out of the blind alley into which the Left reformist leaders of the I.L.P. are bringing it is pointed by the Comintern; it is the way of practical organisation together with the Communist Party of Great Britain of mass united front action against Fascism and imperialist war,

for a ten per cent. rise in wages, for abolition of the Means Test, etc., of the discussion in all Party organisations of affiliation to the Comintern as a sympathising organisation, and of carrying resolutions in favour of affiliation.

The Communist International knows that "the transition from the desire to be revolutionary and from talk (and resolutions) about revolution to real revolutionary work is a very difficult, slow and painful transition" (Lenin).

But this transition has been begun by the members of the Independent Labour Party, and it must pass through a final, unconditional and decisive break with reformism.

In England to-day, as thirteen years ago, in 1920, the point is again to do away in the shortest possible time with illusions about the possibility of "unity" and "peace" with the Left reformists.

> "It is time for all revolutionary workers to purge their parties of them and to form really united Communist Parties of the proletariat" (Lenin).

Affiliation to the Comintern as a sympathetic organisation is the practical, correct way of co-operating with the work of the Comintern, the way of joining the international working-class movement and of approaching a firm revolutionary position.

This is a question which the I.L.P. — all its members and all its Party organisations — must decide immediately, and on which the leaders of the I.L.P. must be forced to break their suspicious silence.

This step—affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Comintern as a sympathetic organisation — will further to a considerable extent the strengthening of the collaboration between the C.P. and the I.L.P., and the formation of a united front of struggle against the National Government — which is now, with the help of the new law on unemployment, coming out with a broad new attack against the working-class, and sharpening its dictatorial repressive measures.

THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION IN GERMANY— THE TASKS OF THE C.P.G.

F. HECKERT.

> ". . . The revolutionary uplift in Germany, against the fascist terror, will inevitably grow. The resistance of the masses against fascism cannot fail to grow. The establishment of an open fascist dictatorship, smashing all democratic illusions in the masses and freeing the masses from the influence of the social democracy, is hastening the speed of Germany's development towards a proletarian revolution."
>
> (From the resolution of the presidium of the E.C.C.I. "On the Contemporary Situation in Germany.")*

THIS bolshevik revolutionary perspective was formulated by the presidium of the E.C.C.I. at a time when, on the surface of political life in Germany, it seemed as though the unconquerable rule of a brutal band of fascist ravishers—open hirelings and representatives of German monopoly capital and the Junkers—was in full sway. This revolutionary perspective was met with malicious hooting by the enemies of the proletarian revolution —among them the social-fascists and their Trotskist-Brandlerist followers. The counter-revolutionists hissed spitefully, relishing their alarmist little theories of an "epoch of counter-revolution," of the "greatest defeat of the working class since the times of 1914."

Individual unbelieving and capitulating elements, who had torn themselves away from the masses, and who had deserted from the advanced position of the heroic struggle of the German proletariat (the little group of Remmele and Neumann), chorussed this social-fascist chatter, trying vainly to introduce disorganisation into the ranks of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard. (They were hindered in this by the monlithically solid, bolshevik C.P.G.) But in resistance to the unheard-of violence of the fascists —comparable only with the terror of Denikin or Kolchak—in resistance to the corrupting and schismatic activities of all the groupings of social-fascism and its agents in the ranks of the Communists—right opportunism—the revolutionary vanguard of the German proletariat quickly rebuilt its ranks, adjusted itself to the conditions of illegal work, opened up active revolutionary work on a wide scale among the masses of the working class, and very quickly overcame the depression which had set in for a short time among the proletariat. Only the blind can fail to see, right now, how revolutionary hatred for the fascist régime of blood and hunger is mounting up in the masses of the proletariat; how the masses are beginning to seek a way out through revolutionary acts, in the swift growth of sympathy with communism; *how the new revolutionary upsurge* in Germany *grows before our eyes.*

* No. 8, 1932.

Only hopeless Philistines or conscious deceivers of the working class can fail to understand that the establishment of the fascist dictatorship and the political *bankruptcy* of its policies, on the one hand—and the substantial opportunity for most speedy liquidation of the mass influence of social-fascism and the winning by the C.P. of a majority of the working class, on the other hand—*have put the question of the power of the working class, of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets, on the order of the day in Germany.*

The dilemma which the Communists put before the working class even before, and which the S.-D.'s obscured with every possible counter-revolutionary sophism ("Vote for Hindenburg—you will be voting against Hitler"); the dilemma: *either open fascist dictatorship* of monopoly capital, *or dictatorship of the proletariat;* this dilemma has *now arisen in all its acuteness before the workers, including the Social-Democratic workers, on the basis of their own experience.* The fact that the question of power is raised sharply by events in Germany does not yet mean that it is permissible for the C.P.G. to raise the slogan of power at once, as a slogan for immediate action, and to summon the masses to immediate struggle for violent overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The necessary and sufficient premises for this are not yet present in the contemporary situation in Germany. As yet our task is only the creation of the conditions for such an armed struggle against the fascist régime of hunger, poverty and bloody white terror. And the most important premise for this is—*the winning over of a majority of the working class of Germany to the side of communism by the C.P., through bold initiative and development of the united front in the class struggle* against capital, against fascism and war.

The masses are being convinced by their own experience of the bankruptcy of *all* the bourgeois parties, and above all of the social-democracy—that most important social support of the bourgeoisie; and of the correctness of the C.P., which has, in these conditions, every chance of becoming the *only mass party of the German proletariat.*

The struggle in Germany is developing between *two* forces—*between fascism and communism. NO* third course, besides the path of fascism and the path of communism, *exists, and none can exist.*

The social-fascist bankrupts are attempting, despite the swift dissipation of democratic illusions within the masses, to set up bourgeois democracy as a specific "third" path. The function of social-fascism as the *most important social support of the bourgeoisie and the fascist dictatorship*, and its effort to *eternalise the division of the working class and prevent the winning of a majority of the working class by the Communist Party* displays itself even more obviously in these activities. Consciousness is growing within the masses of the working class, however, of the fact that all the bourgeois parties—some *openly* (the Nazis), and others *disguising themselves* in one way or another (the social-democrats)—represent and defend *fascism*—the régime of blood and hunger for the workers, the régime which leads to economic catastrophe, to the horrors of a new imperialist war, which is already on the doorstep. Together with this, a consciousness is ripening within those same masses of the fact that only one party—the Communist Party—represents, organizes and leads the revolutionary struggle against fascism and war, for bread, for freedom and power for the workers, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship through an armed uprising, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism. The Communists know that the final liquidation of democratic illusions among the masses will not come about spontaneously, of itself, simply by force of the pressure of political violence and the lash of the fascist régime; precisely as illusions about fascism will not disappear of themselves—although the whole course of the crisis in Germany contributes in the highest degree towards the extermination of these illusions. The most active work of the Communist Party in leading the fights of the working class—a work which is indispensable for this first premise—is the exposing of the policies of the fascist dictatorship, the exposing of the traitorous rôle of the social-democracy as the main social support of the bourgeoisie and the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

That is why the *term of preparation of the revolutionary crisis in Germany depends now, more than ever before, on the persistence, initiative, and revolutionary self-sacrifice of the Communists. Then what is there new, now, in the political situation in Germany as compared with the moment of the coming of the fascists into power, ten months ago?* And what are the *most important links* in the next work of the Communist Party?

* * *

The Leipzig trial, and the attempts of fascism to conjure up a new wave of nationalism and chauvinism, testify clearly to the fact that there has begun, and is growing irrepressibly within the toiling masses, a process of disentanglement from all illusions concerning fascist demagogy: the masses are becoming convinced that there is no way out of poverty, ruin, and hunger on the path of fascism, of fascist "four year plans," of the organisation of forced labour camps. Fascism demanded a judicial endorsement of a new wave of terror against the working class and its party, the Communist Party. Fascism needed something new to switch the attention of the masses from internal affairs to the struggle against an "outside enemy." The fascist dictatorship is exposing itself before the masses of the nation as an open despotism of the bigwigs of mono

poly capital. Through the lips of Hitler, it has proclaimed the end of the national "revolution." Through the decrees of Hitler it has introduced the death sentence for the instigation of economic strikes. It has given all the commanding economic positions to the magnates of big capital—Thyssen, Reinhardt, Schacht, Krupp, Siemens—who take part in the meetings of the fascist "general economic council," and who have been appointed as uncontrolled dictators over whole provinces of Germany.

Corruption, shameless robbery of the government treasury and of public funds, the intensified pumping into the bottomless pockets of the capitalists and the Junkers of government funds, collected penny by penny through taxes on the toilers—the whole system of bribery, robbery, financial speculation, and economic piracy, which the Nazis once "opposed" demagogically—has now flowered out exuberantly, and is incomparable even with the most crying speculations of the times of the Weimar republic (Osthilfe and others).

Only the Communist Party, from the deep underground, exposes this unheard-of robbery of the toiling masses by the magnates of finance capital.

The growth of industrial production in the summer months, and in particular, the growth in the production of steel, iron, cement, automobiles, and artificial fibre, carried a typically-expressed military-inflationary character. Industry is working for the storehouses—having in perspective either war, or a great new crash. The increase in industrial production of the heavy industries almost coincides with the military assignations of the Hitler government. Side by side with this, the consuming capacity of the internal market is shrinking sharply. While there was an increase of 126 per cent. in the amount of products of the textile industry thrown on to the market from July, 1932, to July, 1933—sales rose by only 2 per cent.—and that because of an increase in the stock of uniforms for the army, the fascist troops, and others. Especially sharp was the lowering of sales in the food industries—testifying to the growth of hunger in the families of the workers, the unemployed, and the poor. In the first quarter of 1933, the decrease in sales of products of the food industries was 11.7 per cent.; in the second quarter, by official fascist statistics, there was a decrease of another 4.9 per cent. In the needle industry, the decrease in the amount of sales in the first quarter of 1933 reached 8.4 per cent. The feeling of the capitalists is characterised by general uncertainty. Even the minister of economy, Schmidt, declared in his speech at Cologne, "Capital is so repressed, so scared and untrustful, that it cannot be sure of anything."

Der Deutsche Volkswirth of August 25 expresses itself in the same pessimistic spirit:

"The stock market is in sharp contrast with the rise in production and with the decrease in unemployment; it displays a picture of utter stagnancy and a fall in prices."

Echoing these panicky tendencies of their bourgeoisie, the "left" social-democratic scribblers talk of an inevitable "destruction of European civilisation under the onslaught of Asiatic Russian-Chinese barbarism."

The more practical magnates of big industry see in war the only salvation from the approaching economic crash. A war boom—and even more so a war—promises them incalculable profits. They reckon on once again pouring the blood of the toiling masses into golden ingots. Krupp sends Hitler a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations. The stock of the war enterprises is going up. The growth in the dividends paid out to the holders of shares in war enterprises and in enterprises connected with war corresponds, at the other social pole, with a further growth of need and poverty. It is true, there have been certain extremely insignificant decreases in unemployment in connection with the war orders of the government. Along with this, a catastrophic and universal growth of intensification of labour in the capitalistic enterprises "frees" ever new groups of workers from work, and cripples those who remain in industry by causing unheard-of, predatory squandering by capital of the life forces of the workers.

The movement of wages in 1933 is characterised by (1) considerable new decreases in wages, averaging 1-3 pfennigs an hour; (2) a decrease of 10-25 per cent. in real wages in different branches of production; (3) a sharp decrease in special payments; (4) a lowering of piece rates by 10-15 per cent.; and (5) the abolition of the formerly compulsory premiums for long service.

Together with this, fascism forces the transition to a short working week, lowering the wages of the entire working class through this. . . . Slave labour has been introduced into the forced labour camps. In proportion with the further sharpening of the internal situation in Germany—and even more so if an imperialist war should start—this military slave labour will become the lot of the entire German proletariat. The winter now beginning will be the hardest of all the crisis winters that the German working class has lived through. But this will be so not only for the working class. The poorest peasantry, which is obliged to buy additional bread, food for its cattle, etc., is just as badly ruined in the present situation, when the government is attempting in the interests of the land-owners and the rich peasants, to raise the prices on agricultural products. At the same time, the lowering of the purchasing power of the city masses leads to a further catastrophic fall in the sales of butter, meat, pork

ıd other products, which ruins the small peasant rms. The poor people of the cities, the lower fice workers, the petty merchants and artisans, ho expected the coming of paradise with Hitler's cession to power, have also come to themselves efore the broken trough of their expectations and usions. Local city governments have been de- ared bankrupt, and their short-term debts have een declared long-term ones. Unemployment ntinues to grow among the white-collar workers. he department stores and the big monopolies have ceived even greater powers, and are ruining the petty ourgeoisie even faster than before. The petty ourgeoisie, the majority of which still remains nder the hypnosis of nationalism and chauvinism, nevertheless beginning to understand that it has een fooled by fascism.

Sharp, intense hatred for the régime of blood and rror is mounting up in the workers' quarters of ermany. The fascist policy, instead of finding a ay out of the crisis through the course of a pre- entive civil war against the proletariat, has sharpened l the class contradictions, and has not solved a ngle one of the problems which stand before apitalism. On this basis, a resistance to fascist iolence is growing, a new revolutionary upsurge is rowing in Germany.

The fascist government planned the demolition f the entire system of tariff agreements in industry. ut it was afraid to carry this out, since the measure ıreatened to unloose a mighty wave of factory onflicts—since in this event the establishment of ates of wages would have been transferred to the ndustrial enterprises.

The fascist government planned the organisation of nified trade unions, in fascist harmony, for the egulation of conditions of labour and wages. But ven these unified trade unions seemed dangerous o the fascist dictatorship. Therefore it decided ot to carry out its original plan, and passed all unctions of regulation of conditions of labour and ages exclusively into the hands of the "guardians f labour," its own creatures, recruited from the igh officialdom and the big industrialists.

But this is only indirect proof of the resistance of ne working class. The strikes, which do not stop, espite their prohibition by the fascist dictatorship, ive *direct* proof of the growing revolutionary nthusiasm. The growth of the revolutionary ıovement in the form of strikes on the eve of the litler coup expressed itself, first of all, in *the swift rowth of economic strikes into political ones*, and in ne fact that many movements started at once as olitical ones. After the establishment of the ascist dictatorship, political strikes greatly pre- ominated over economic ones. In February, 933, out of a total number of 287 strikes, 225— e., 75 per cent.—*were political strikes*. As a result of a wave of unheard-of terror the strike movement was weakened; but nevertheless in March, of 19 strikes which were reported by the bourgeois press, 10 were political; in April, out of 60 strikes, 52 were political; and in May, out of 58 strikes, 35 were political. Fascist statistics painstakingly conceal the number of strike conflicts in the industrial enterprises, so that the total number is hard to determine. The struggle has reached considerable sharpness in the forced labour camps, where there have taken place, during this period, more than 280 successful strikes, which often led even to the breaking up of the camps.

We shall cite a few examples of strikes which have occurred in Germany, which are characterised, as a general rule, by the *fighting* mood of the strikers, and which ended, in a considerable number of cases, with *victory* for the workers.

The directors of the steel-casting factory "Sigridsgerder" posted notices of a 10 per cent. wage cut. The workers sent a delegation of 26 to the directors. When the directors continued to insist on their robbing plan, the entire factory association—700 strong—declared a strike. The bureaucrats of the N.S.B.O. (National-Socialist factory organisation) tried to win the strikers over to resume work by quoting Hitler's appeal. They promised that "new negotiations" would start on the resumption of work. *The workers refused any sort of negotiations, and refused the mediation of the N.S.B.O.; and through the strike they succeeded in making the directors withdraw the wage cut that very evening.*

In the "Thyssen" pit N. 18-19, the introduction of measures for the intensification of labour, with the consent of the N.S.B.O., was expected. The association, numbering 400 people, answered this by a strike. *Almost* 100 *workers were arrested.* Nevertheless, the strike continued.

The association of the railroad repair shops in Cologne—over 1000 strong—*conducted a victorious strike against a wage cut. All the members of the N.S.B.O. took part in the strike movement, against the will of their leaders. The Social-Democratic workers joined the general front.* The strike made a great impression on all the Cologne enterprises.

Here are yet a few more examples of how it was possible, under our leadership or in connection with the work of the R.T.U.O. to start active demonstrations. We cite only a few cases, characteristic of the form of the movement.

In the pits of Matthias Stinnes in Dortmund, a 2-hour strike was conducted against a wage cut. The strike ended with *full victory* for the workers.

In a certain fishing enterprise in North Germany, the workers attained, through a 20-minute strike, a *rise* in wages of 20 pfennigs on a ton of herrings.

In a certain metallurgical enterprise in Wandsbecke, it was proposed to introduce a deduction

from wages. The association threatened a strike, and the owner of the enterprise gave up the deduction.

In another metallurgical factory in Alton, it was proposed to the workers that they sign a paper saying that they will answer for badly done work. With the exception of three workers, *the entire collective refused to sign such an obligation.*

Cases are very frequent when it has been found possible, under the leadership of revolutionary workers, to reject masked robbery of wages in the form of "voluntary" donations. In the Palmin-Kost concern, it was decided to deduct one mark from the wages for German aviation. The workers refused.

In many parts of Germany we have examples where workers, at general meetings of the N.S.B.O. groups, *put forward demands for rises in wages to correspond with the rise in prices.* More than that there have been advanced, at N.S.B.O. groups, even *political demands on the prohibition of arrests of revolutionary workers*, etc. Here is a characteristic example: In the municipal enterprises of Cologne, our comrades conducted a demonstration for the release of our arrested functionaries. In the N.S.B.O group, the workers put forward a motion for the release of our functionaries; but they did not succeed in voting on the motion. Then our comrades prepared leaflets containing the demand for the release of the functionaries, and at the same time began to collect signatures. 300 workers signed.

All these examples show that, despite the prohibition of strike struggle, it is possible, with correct leadership on the part of the party or the R.T.U.O. not only to develop many strikes, but even to lead them to victory. *One of the most important tasks of the R.T.U.O. and the red trade unions is—as formerly, the independent organisation and leadership of economic battles, connecting them up with political demands, an organisation of political strikes, and the broadening of strikes to the dimensions of big mass battles.*

A central position in the mobilisation of the masses and the organisation of strikes and of active demonstrations must be taken by one of our most important slogans: "Strike against wage cuts—even if only of one pfennig, against discharges, and for a rise in wages to meet the rise in prices."

The independent organisation and leadership of strikes demands bolshevik application of the tactic of the united front, and *the immediate creation of a cadre of stewards in every shop and factory and in every employment bureau.* In conditions of illegality, these delegates assume an outstanding political significance; and without the creation of such a cadre, the development of economic and political battles, and the leading of the masses to a decisive battle for power, are impossible. In the organisation of cadres of delegates, it is necessary to use the experience of 1917-18. It is necessary also to include within this system thousands of former Social-Democratic workers. This system of stewards in the shops and factories will serve as an important lever in the construction of *illegal independent class trade unions*; and at the same time will help to strengthen the work of the Communist Party, and the R.T.U.O. in the centralised fascist trade unions.

Along with this growth of the revolutionary movement, the decay of the fascist organisations assumes ever sharper form.

The arrest of the opposition of the N.S.D.A.P. and their disposition in concentration camps is a well-known phenomenon. Now cases are becoming more frequent when storm-troopers simply do not appear for duty. The leader of the Storm-Troop Division No. 1-22 characterises this better than anyone in the following words:

"Anyone who fails to appear for parade will be immediately expelled by me from the storm-troop. . . . I must assume that those who fail to attend the assemblies of the storm-troopers, and who shirk duty, precisely at this moment, do so because . . . they think that the time has come when it is possible to carry on anew the work against the N.S.D.A.P. which they, perhaps, carried on before. If this assumption turns out to be correct, then we shall call the guilty ones to account, and shall proceed against them through the resources of governmental power. . . ."

"To call the guilty to account, and to proceed against them through the resources of governmental power"—this means dismissal from work, this means beatings and the concentration camp.

The growing unrest in the ranks of the N.S.B.O. has impelled the leadership of the N.S.B.O. to issue an order by which all former "Marxist workers" who have "insinuated themselves" into the N.S.B.O. are expelled, and by which all members of the N.S.B.O., the numbers of whose membership books are above 450,000 are made ineligible to hold offices or functions in the N.S.B.O. or in the fascist unions.

In this manner the N.S.B.O. has expelled thousands of rebellious "Marxist" workers from its organisation; but it has not been able to put a limit to the process of further disintegration which, organised by members of the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. who have been sent in to the N.S.B.O., continues at an accelerated rate. The most important forms of the manifestation of this process are: the intensified participation of members of the N.S.B.O. in strikes and demonstrations organised by the C.P.G. and the R.T.U.O.; the advancing of wage demands; demonstrations for the release of arrested revolutionary workers, against the tax on margarine, and against high prices;

circulation of the leaflets of the R.T.U.O. ; failure to pay N.S.B.O. membership dues ; refusal to wear the N.S.B.O. uniform and to buy the magazine "Arbeitertum ;" and the sending of telegrams of protest to Hitler.

The radical mood within the N.S.B.O. is evident from the proposals which were brought in in July, August and September of this year for the socialisations of the factories, etc. For instance, in Hamburg a conference composed of 40 N.S.B.O. workers brought in a written proposal on "the socialisation of all marine navigation." Similarly, an N.S.B.O. conference which took place at the end of August, this year, in the Ruhr district, and in which 80 factory delegates participated, demanded "the socialisation of the mining industry ;" and we must add that the immediate influence of the C.P.G. and the R.T.U.O. was not present. After the presentation of this demand, all those who participated in the conference were arrested.

There are already hundreds of examples on the style of those cited above ; and they do not represent accidental, isolated manifestations, but spring from the class contradictions between the members of the N.S.B.O. and their fascist leaders, from the contradictions between the social demagogy of the national-socialists and their policy, which is in fact the policy of monopoly capital. However, it is necessary to struggle energetically against any overestimation of the disintegration of the N.S.B.O.—against any illusions that this disintegration is an automatic process which, when it reaches a certain definite development, will lead to the wreck of the N.S.B.O. and of the Hitler party. This sort of view is nothing other than a reflection of the social-democratic theory that "We must allow fascism to finish its rule." The view that fascism can no longer resort to demagogic manoeuvres is another expression of this very same theory.

In the rural districts also, the policy of the Hitler government, conducted in the interests of finance capital and the landowners, is beginning to appear in its true colours before the former adherents of the Nazis. Here are a few examples :

In the rural districts around the little city B v Oldenburg, a week before the "harvest holiday," the uniforms of the storm-troopers, banners with the swastika emblem, and portraits of Hitler disdisappeared—not without the active participation of the peasants. These Oldenburg peasants, who had still been supporters of the national-socialists only half a year before, flatly refused to "thank" Mr. Hitler for the harvest. What had they not expected from the third empire? the cancellation of debts, the abolition of taxes and the doubling and trebling of prices on their agricultural products, the abolition of debt slavery, and the giving of credit without interest. But all this turned out to b a chimera.

In Oldenburg the peasants declared that the would have nothing more to do with the business They gave no money to the endless collections, an gave no money for sending a delegation to Hamel for the "harvest holiday." Two lads who offere their services for the trip to Hameln had the glass i their windows broken at night.

Things occurred in exactly the same way in "K. (Oldenburg district.) Near Dalmenchorst, thing went as far as a clash between the peasants an the Nazis.

In Mecklenburg the Nazis pretended to be th only "real friends of the peasants." In thei struggle against the German nationalists, the fascist also resorted to demagogic means. They promise the poor peasants that, at last, the aim of their leade would be realised : a free peasant on free land. This of course, did not come about. As a result th peasants are rebelling in many places. In a numbe of villages scores of peasants have been put int prison. Local papers threaten death to the "honour forgetting traitors of the peasant estate."

These concrete cases show that dissatisfactio with Hitler keeps spreading in the rural district also.

The sharpening of the difficulties of the bourgeoisi in the field of internal and external politics, and th failure of Hitler's government to fulfil a single on of his demagogic promises, must entail ever mor open indignation of the toiling masses, even amon the former adherents of the Nazis. The entir situation in Germany shows the possibility c *sharp changes*, when every conflict between worker and toilers, on the one hand, and fascist ravisher on the other, may develop into a mass struggle on broad front, and involve *an explosion of mass di satisfaction of enormous revolutionary significance.*

The situation in Germany, and the tasks of th party which follow from this situation, are charac terised extremely pointedly in the resolution of th C.C., C.P.G., of October 10.* Here the following said of the present situation :

"The eight months' existence of the blood an stravation government, the government of Hitle Goering-Goebbels, have confirmed to the fulle extent that the brutal, unrestricted fascist dictato ship is incapable of solving a single political an economic question of present-day Germany. . . The government of Hitler and Goering is expos more and more before the masses as the governme of finance capital and the Junkers. As a result its adventuristic policy, it is accentuating all th inner and outer contradictions of German capitalism and leading Germany to disaster. In spite of th

* See No. 22.

nost ruthless and bloody terror, a revolutionary ıpsurge is growing among the working class, which s completely deprived of all rights by fascism. The nasses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the)easantry are beginning to realise that they have)een deceived by the national-socialists. . . . The 'ascists have commenced civil war in the country n order to prepare for imperialist war, and in order o shatter the German proletariat. . . .

"Under these conditions it is becoming clearer :very day to the working people that fascism is the ındisguised form of the dictatorship of finance ·apital and of the Junkers—who have made use of he discontent of the masses with the Weimar Republic in order to crush the revolutionary labour novement, in order to render the working people lumb slaves, and to consolidate the position of inance capital. Therefore, a rapid growth of a new evolutionary upsurge which has already begun, the ıew mounting up of strike waves and of revolutionary nanifestations of the unemployed, and a turning way of the petty bourgeois and peasant masses from ascism is inevitable."

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Fascism came into power on an enormous wave f nationalism and chauvinism, which had grown p on the favourable basis of the Versailles enslave- ıent of Germany by the imperialist plunderers of ne former Entente. The German monopolistic ·ourgeoisie incited a nationalistic passion among the etty bourgeois masses and even in parts of the ·orking class, and used them as its strongest weapon ı the struggle against the gathering revolutionary risis. The proletariat was unable to overcome this ·ave of nationalism with an opposing surge of roletarian internationalism. And it could not ossibly have done this, since its majority was still nder the influence of social-fascism—which set up gainst the "ferocious chauvinism" of the fascists, ;s own "tedious and hypocritical chauvinism" Lenin), only slightly veiled with pseudo-inter- ationalistic phraseology.

What is there *new* in the questions of German ationalism, that must be noted now, ten months fter the establishment of the fascist dictatorship ? 'he new developments consist of this : that the ıasses are becoming convinced through their own ‹perience—illuminated by the Communist Party— ot only that the reign of fascism has not brought ith it the abolition of the Versailles slavery, or ırried out other similar demagogic points of the .scist programme of "national revolution ;" but so that it has loaded on the shoulders of the toilers, . the interests of the imperialist German bourgeoisie, new war yoke—even heavier than that of Versailles -in the form of the forced labour camps and the :w monstrous burden of growing militarism.

The new developments consist in this : that *if a wave of nationalism and chauvinism grew up in Germany before the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, then now it is beginning to subside.* The thieving fascist accounts of forty million voters, who are supposed to have voted for Hitler, cannot fool even the bourgeois press across the border—not to speak of the proletariat. Who will believe in this "achievement" of gangs of murderers, provocators, and swindlers, who are in power, and who manipulate the results of the elections with the well-tested methods of political banditry and shameless trickery ?

One thing is certain : the sharper the situation within the country becomes, the more strained class relations become, the faster the revolutionary uplift grows—then, the more intensively will this fascist clique resort to ever new demagogic nationalistic phrases and adventuristic manœuvres. The revolutionary proletarians understand the value of these nationalistic manœuvres very well. They (these manœuvres) fulfil two basic functions. Within the country, they are invoked to throttle the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of the toiling masses, and to switch their dissatisfaction with their situation over into the channel of struggle against an "outside enemy."

Outside, in fascism's international policy, these manœuvres serve in the business of *extortion*, in the concrete *bargaining* of the German imperialist bourgeoisie with its imperialist competitors for *more arms for Germany*, and *for the revision of the Versailles boundaries.*

Fascism reckons on bargaining out the liberty to arm itself further, with the purpose in mind of redesigning the map of Europe in the future, in its own plundering style ; it reckons on getting this freedom to arm *through its vanguardist role in the organisation, preparation and conducting of a crusade against "world bolshevism," against the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of the world proletariat.* The dramatisation of "national unity" was to have been used as an "extra-diplomatic" *pressure* on the west-Euporean governments, to make them more compliant for *separate* agreements with German fascism.

It would be a mistake to declare in Communist agitation, in the face of the nationalistic manœuvres of fascism (the withdrawal from the League of Nations, and the dramatisation of "national unity" through a "national" vote under the muzzles of the revolvers of the fascist bandits), that fascism has "decisively capitulated" to Versailles. In essence, such an "exposure" of fascism is simply nothing but a "left" variation of the social-democratic criticism of the international policy of fascism for "insufficiently consistent and skilful defence of the national interests of Germany."

In actual fact, fascism defends the external-political interests of German monopoly capital quite consistently ; it carries on the most aggressive

imperialist policy that is permitted it by the forces of German imperialism, and it strains its relations with all its imperialist competitors to the limit. Further sharpening of these relationships means inevitable war. The Communist exposure of bourgeois nationalism and of the adventuristic fascist foreign policy must include the following three points : In the first place, it must show that "peaceful" settlement of the Versailles contradictions within the capitalist system is *not possible*, either through Germany's participation in the League of Nations, or through her withdrawal from it ; that the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, which makes clear the impossibility of preserving the Versailles system, at the same time strengthens the aspirations of France and her allies for the preservation of Versailles, no matter what happens ; that further sharpening of these contradictions will inevitably lead to a new imperialist war ; and that the fascist government of Hitler is the main instigator of this war. In the second place, explanation is necessary of the fact that the Hitler government, in preparing war, raises the dividends of the magnates of the war industry, and has already brought incredible suffering to the toiling masses (forced labour camps, and the burden of militarism). It is necessary to explain that the piratic plan of German fascism figures mainly on a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of all toilers—to tear Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White White Russia away from it, and for the subjection of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and other countries to the German imperialist government, as feudatory governments ; and that fascist diplomacy is displaying frantic energy in its attempt to create a grouping of the imperialist powers for the realisation of this counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. (the negotiations with Poland and France, the projects of Rosenberg and Lord Rothermere, etc.). It is necessary to explain, at the same time, that the imperialist war which is being prepared by German fascism, under the mask of the slogan of a struggle against Versailles (the annexation of Austria, the so-called corridor, etc.), would mean an attempt of the imperialist German bourgeoisie to replace the structure of slavery to Versailles by a new piratic grabbing régime of its own, advantageous for German capital and disastrous for the German toiling masses.

And finally, in the third place, Communist agitation must set up against bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism *its proletarian programme of social and national liberation of the German people in the path of the socialist revolution.* Only the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship will be the end of the Versailles slavery. Soviet Socialist Germany, rising up out of the ruins of the fascist régime of blood and hunger for the toiling masses, will inevitably mean the beginning of a proletarian revolution in *all* Central Europe. At the same time it will have the utmost support of the proletariat of France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and all the other countries.

Only such agitation from the stand of militant proletarian internationalism, which explains to the masses the only road to social and national liberation, can entirely expose the adventuristic, piratic policy of German fascism—the policy of terror and preventive civil war against the proletariat, and of a new imperialist war for the sake of profits for the capitalists and the Junkers. At the same time, such an exposure will put an end to all speculations of the social-fascist followers, that the Communists "are reckoning on a war."

Communism in every capitalist country has reckoned, and does reckon, on carrying the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat into an armed uprising against its own bourgeoisie, to a victorious proletarian revolution. But social-fascism —which divides the proletariat and collaborates with the fascist bourgeoisie—does everything it can so that the bourgeois cliques may succeed—with its (social-fascism's) direct support—in involving the proletariat in a second imperialist war.

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The *decisive* task of the C.P.G., in its struggle to prepare the conditions for a violent overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, is the task of becoming the only mass party of the workers of Germany, in the shortest possible time. It must do this by liquidating the mass influence of social-democracy ; by winning over the workers who have followed social-democracy until quite recently, on the basis of persistent and bolshevik application of the tactic of *united front* from below. The work of every party organisation must therefore be appraised first of all from the point of view of the question, whether or not it drew all the different groups of the working class—and above all the social-democratic workers—into the struggle against capitalism correctly and with enough initiative.

German social-democracy is in a condition of great organisational collapse and ideological bankruptcy—in a condition of the most profound crisis. A whole series of its organisations have entirely fallen to pieces. Part of them are in a condition of organisational shapelessness. The decrease in membership of the S.P.G. is enormous. Thus, for instance, in the Berlin Neukoeln district, where the S.P.G. still had 10,000 members as late as January 1, it now has hardly 300 members. One must keep in mind, besides this, the fact that Neukoeln was formerly considered a stronghold of social-democracy, and that its organisational condition in many other districts and cities of Germany is even worse than this.

However, we must not judge of the peril of the

S.P.G. for the working class by its organisational condition alone. Despite its disintegration and its organisational weakening, the S.P.G. is, as formerly, the main social support of the bourgeoisie and of the fascist dictatorship in Germany; for even now it chains enormous masses of workers under its influence and stands in the way of a revolutionary onslaught on the fascist dictatorship. The original plan of social democracy, which was worked out after the fascist coup, fell through. It was characterised by the tactic of a peculiar division of labour in the S.P.G. between two "separated" centres: when one, inside Germany, *openly* defended the fascist dictatorship, *openly* attempted (voting in the Reichstag for the policy of Hitler, and handing the reformist trade unions over to the fascists) to exist within the fascist régime as an "opposition" obedient to the fascist club-law; while the other centre, which had emigrated from Germany, veiled this policy with "left" phrases. Now the S.P.G. is obliged to reorganise itself anew.

Fascism has deprived social-democracy of its legal position and has thus thrust it forcibly into *unlawful opposition*—seeing in such a situation of social-democracy the best means, in the present concrete situation in Germany, of using the help of the social-democracy to restrain the workers from going over to communism. On this ground there has been a further disintegration of social-democracy, a rise of a whole series of groups and grouplets. At the same time, this very situation has made it easier for social-democracy to advance within the mass of the workers its "left," *most dangerous* wing, which has gone even further than the official leadership of the S.P.G., along the path of "left" phrases and traitorous, pseudo-revolutionary deeds. There are forming in Germany "left" pseudo-revolutionary groups—seemingly independent of the leadership of the S.P.G., and often even coming out against it—which are for the most part under the leadership of intellectuals, and which carry on the business of the fascist dictatorship together with—and under the decisive ideological influence of—counter-revolutionaries and renegades, from Thalheimer to Trotsky. Their basic aim is propaganda for the counter-revolutionary thesis that the C.P.G. has showed itself to be just as worthless as the S.P.G., and that it is therefore necessary to create a new revolutionary organisation.

The official C.C., as well as these "left" shock-brigades of social-democracy, is characterised by the ambition to imitate even the organisational forms of its party work from fascism. Social-democracy is trying to prevent the exposure of its traitorous rôle—an exposure which is inevitable in the event that the communists introduce discussion into the social-democratic ranks—by proclaiming a dictatorship of the leaders in the party.

"The functions of the leadership must enter much more strongly than ever before into these new forms of struggle: initiative and orders from the leaders, work instead of discussion, iron discipline in the execution of all orders."

All this shows how *dangerous* for the C.P.G. at present is any underestimation of the social-democracy as the main social support of the bourgeoisie. At the same time such an underestimation sometimes slips in, in individual cases. Thus, for instance, the communist "Hamburger Volkszeitung" wrote: "Now the Leipartists and the Erntheitists can go; they have given fascism base service, *have served their purpose, and have lost their value.*"

Or differently:

"Although Hitler has smashed the apparatus of the S.P.G. we must now tell the workers that he will *some day* again make use of the services of Wells and Severing to restrain the fighters from their struggle against fascism. . . . We, the communists, must take steps to see that Wels and Leipart will not be able to play *again* the rôle of physician to the rotting corpse of capitalism."

In this, everything is mistaken from beginning to end. It is not true that the S.P.G. is dead, that its leaders have lost "all value" for fascism. Even though the S.P.G. is passing through a very profound crisis, and is disintegrating from within—mainly because the workers are leaving it—yet it is nevertheless alive enough to impede the revolutionary movement, and to carry on a struggle to lengthen the term of capitalism and the fascist dictatorship. It is also untrue that the S.P.G. can only "some day" again be necessary to fascism. The S.P.G. even now—being before the law in the position of an unlawful opposition—collaborated with fascism in its general office of the salvation of capitalism; and it depends mainly on the Communist Party, and on its activity, how long the S.P.G. will play the role of physician to the rotting corpse of capitalism.

It is perfectly obvious that such mistakes can only make the struggle for the liberation of the masses from under the influence of social-democracy more difficult for the party, and slow down the winning of the majority of the working class by the party. However, it is obvious that underestimation of the dangerousness of the social-democracy is not characteristic of the party organisations of the C.P.G., and shows itself only in individual links of the party. Precisely because the C.P.G. takes an absolutely correct, bolshevik position on this fundamental question, it has attained great success in the drawing of social-democratic workers into a united front in the anti-fascist class struggle.

The coming of social-democratic workers over into the C.P.G. can be observed more and more often. As early as May, the coming over of whole local organisations—often of 80-150 members—

was reported. Since then this movement has grown, although by no means all possibilities of hastening it have as yet been exhausted. In a number of cases members of the C.P.G., instead of intensifying their educational work, even opposed the acceptance of social-democratic workers—fearing a numerical predominance of former social-democrats in their organisations. However, we already have lower units, the majority of whose membership is made up of former social-democrats. Connections with social-democratic workers in the shops and factories are becoming ever tighter. For instance, a comrade from one of the districts tells of how "old, formerly fanatical social-democrats" helped our units in their work. The party organisation carried on good mass work there under the slogan : "Every communist must lead five social-democratic workers." Social-democratic workers are dissatisfied when our comrades do not give them illegal literature to spread promptly and in enough quantity. The fact that a considerable part of the illegal party literature is spread by non-party and social-democratic workers has become a universal phenomenon. All this sets before the party the great importance of the task of *re-educating* these new communists, former social-democrats, of involving them in active work and, at the same time, *intensifying the struggle within the party against right opportunism*—the danger of which is growing, not only in connection with the political period we are living through, but also in connection with the influx of former social-democratic workers into the party.

The most important thing is to draw the rank-and-file social-democratic workers into active class struggle by a united front, simultaneously with this carrying on wide explanatory work—exposing the traitorous policy of the S.P.G. and, in particular, its most *dangerous* "left" organisations. It is necessary to develop to the highest extent the *enmity* which is rising up among the social-democratic workers against the entire S.P.G.—which, as they feel, has betrayed them to fascism. Many social-democrats are beginning to understand the attempts of the "lefts" to regenerate the S.P.G. under a new name. "Everyone who at present still thinks"—say such former social-democratic workers—"that it is possible to re-establish the S.P.G., to set up a new stall which will be a middle link between the S.P.G. and the C.P.G., or to organise an even more 'left' party than the C.P.G.—that person is committing a crime against the unity of the working class." These and other similar testimonials of former social-democratic workers, who have now come over to the communists, are the clearest proof of the fact that a hatred for social-democracy is awakening with incredible speed among the masses of deceived workers, "*and that this hatred is the best, the greatest feeling of the best people of the oppressed and exploited masses.*" (Lenin.)

When this hatred against the social-democrats embraces the working class, and when the Communist Party wins over to its side the majority of the working class, then will sound the last hour of German fascism. And as yet, we can exclaim :

"Let the bourgeoisie of the whole world continue to rage, let it drive out, put in prison, even kill the Spartacists and the bolsheviks—all this will help it no longer. This will serve only to enlighten the masses, to free them from the old bourgeois-democratic prejudices, and to harden them in the struggle. The victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world is assured. The basis for the international Soviet republic lies in the future." (Lenin.)

The heroic German Communist Party is liberating millions of German workers, through stubborn struggle against the fascist dictatorship, from under the influence of the social democrats—who are betraying them. It is spreading its influence, and is preparing for the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of a Soviet Socialist Republic in Germany.

THE CONGRESS OF MILITANT YOUTH UNITY.*

(The results of the International Youth Congress and the preparation for National Youth Congresses against war and fascism.)

IN his introductory speech at the International Youth Congress against fascism and war in Paris, Henri Barbusse called this congress a big war council of the youth, a council convened to fight against the two bloody scourges of capitalism : war and fascism.

This "war council" presented an unprecedentedly broad front of the youth of all countries and the most varied opinions. It demonstrated with astounding force and unanimity the determination of the youth and their will to *action*. The congress will remain an unforgettable event in the memories of all who participated in it. And in our future work we must make it as unforgettable for *millions* of the youth.

This congress acquires particular importance in connection with the intensiveness with which the bourgeoisie of the fascist and "democratic" countries is making use of all ideological means, all means of violence and deception, every kind of decoy at its disposal to exercise its influence in the first place, over the youth. The youth forms the principal part of the acting troops, and will be the first to be sacrificed to the coming imperialist war.

Under danger of death the German delegates made their way across the border and fraternised at the congress with young French workers, with soldiers who rose in full uniform to speak. From a number of countries (Czechoslovakia, Belgium) delegates *walked* to the congress in the course of days and weeks. Representatives of Morocco, which is preyed upon by the imperialist vultures, fraternised with the toiling youth of France and Spain. All felt that the great example of the Russian revolution, the heroic example of Karl Liebknecht, live in the hearts of the masses of the youth.

The congress gave an indication of the deep yearning of the toiling youth for the united front of struggle. Of the total number of 1,100 delegates representing 34 countries, 111 were young Socialists 387 young Communists, 553 non-party ; there was a considerable number of members of bourgeois, pacifist, sports, scout and trade union (both revolutionary and reformist) organisations. A number of the largest munitions plants were represented,and also troops, and the Swedish and Danish navies.

Of particular importance is the extensive participation in the congress and preparation for it of members of the Socialist youth organisation. In France a tenth of the Socialist youth organisation actively and in an organised manner took part in the preparations for the congress. In Great Britain, in spite of the veto and sabotage of the reformist leaders, the I.L.P.'s Guild of Youth and many Labour youth organisations took part in the movement. In Belgium the Young Socialist Guard, reflecting the growth of revolutionary tendencies among its rank and file, disregarded the instructions of the social-democratic leaders by deciding to postpone its regular congress and send a delegation to the land of proletarian dictatorship.

The leaders of the Socialist Youth International were not present at the congress, for they feared and sabotaged it. And the delegates to the congress, and in the first place the members of the Socialist youth organisations present, realised *in whose interests, in the interests of which class*, the S.Y.I. leaders acted. Nothing could confuse these young Socialists ; who had begun active struggle shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the Y.C.L. or turn them from the road they had chosen. The attempts of Trotskyist grouplets and masked agents of the social-fascist leadership to carry on disruptive work among the Socialist delegates, and represent the congress to them as "a political manœuvre of the Communists," as also the attempts to conceal the treason of the Second International by complaining about the "fratricidal struggle" and "doctrinaire discussion" between the social-democrats and the Communists, were completely defeated at the congress, and found determined resistance on the part first of all of the Socialist delegates.

At this congress there met for the first time in the midst of capitalist Europe *the representatives of two worlds*—of the working and kolkhoz youth of the U.S.S.R., the country of splendid victories in the sphere of socialist construction, and of the youth of the countries of capitalism and bloody fascism.

The presence of a Soviet delegation at the congress, and the election of representatives of the Soviet youth to the International Youth Committee is of great importance. This meeting of the two worlds took place in the fifth year of the world's economic crisis and at the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R., where the contrast between the conditions of the youth in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist countries is becoming still more striking.

The congress met the Soviet delegation and the speech of its chairman, Comrade Kosarev, with great enthusiasm, which testified to the determination of the representatives of the best and most active part of the youth to fight to the end against fascism and war, against capitalism and for socialism.

* This congress took place in Paris on September 22-24, 1933.—Ed.

"Comrades," says the declaration of the German, French, British and Spanish delegations on Comrade Kosarev's speech, "you must relise what it (i.e., Comrade Kosarev's speech—A.) means to us. We come from poverty. Fascism has deprived us of even the semblance of democratic rights. Some of our delegates are unemployed and have hardly a piece of bread to satisfy their hunger. Instead of work we are given forced labour in forced labour camps, in the hands of officers who are to prepare us for war. . . . Comrades, whatever we vaguely felt to be beautiful, what seemed to us the ideal, what many of us have already recognised to be right and necessary, we see the embryo and realisation of in your country. We see to-day, clearer than ever, that in your country there is socialism. . . . What exists in your country is our aim too ; we want to achieve what you are creating, and for that reason whoever slanders you hurts us ; whoever fights against you will strike us too ; whoever attacks you will rob us too. And we proclaim that whoever wages or prepares to wage war against you is our greatest enemy."

The international youth congress formed an important factor in the mobilisation of the masses of the youth for the struggle against fascism and war.

Against the background of this congress, how pitiful is the malicious howling of the remains of smashed counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, which even on the eve of the congress prophesied its "failure!" The Socialist Youth International leaders, in their turn, also wrote in the resolution of the S.Y.I. congress (August, 1933) that the united front of the youth is "an illusion, a mirage, and a source of deception." Our international congress, the mighty embodiment of the united front of the youth, will give us the right to ask in every Socialist youth group in any country why these gentlemen are talking this way about the united front of the youth, which *has already become and is every day becoming an ever more heroic and active* front of struggle against the class enemy. These gentlemen tried and are still trying to discredit the united front and the International Youth Congress as a "political manœuvre ;" while they themselves have resource to the basest manœuvres, rejecting the united front of the workers in action and struggle, on the hypocritical excuse that the first thing to be done is to "unite the tops" of the two Internationals on a single aim, and to carry out in the future a united front with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

In order to show how the Socialist youth are themselves beginning to expose the manœuvres of the social-fascist leaders, let us quote the speech of a young Geneva Socialist at a united front meeting in Zurich on International Youth Day, September 1, 1933 :—

"We greet you on behalf of the Socialist youth of Geneva. We greet you in the name of proletarian unity, sealed with the bloodshed on the evening of November 9, 1932, and practically realisable to-day in view of the anti-war conference. This meeting should and does show that the united front of the youth is realisable.

"In the first place we want to clear up all misunderstandings which may have arisen. It has been asserted that the youth anti-war congress which will take place in Paris very soon is a 'Communist manœuvre.' We fail to understand what manœuvre is meant.

"*There are certain people, certain bureaucrats, who are sitting comfortably in their armchairs like rats around a piece of cheese and who place their personal interests above those of the working class, whose representatives they are supposed to be. These people are afraid of being disturbed, but most of all they are afraid of the working class's waking. So they resist all real revolutionary action, on the part of either the Communists or the earnest Socialists. These are the people who make the greatest hullabaloo about 'Communist manœuvres.'*

"Can we apply the name of *manœuvre* to a step directed to bringing the labour movement direct to its destination—proletarian class struggle ?"

The united front against fascism and war is ever extending, spreading to the whole world. This applies equally to the youth movement. Almost simultaneously with the Paris International Youth Congress, a national anti-war congress was taking place in New York. 3,500 delegates, of whom over 600 were youth, declared determined war on imperialist robbery in Cuba, on intervention in Soviet China, on Roosevelt's plunder and war plans, on semi-military compulsory labour and the increasing exploitation of the youth. And almost at the same time in another part of the world—in Shanghai—under conditions of ruthless terror on the part of the bloody imperialist and Kuomintang gangs, an illegal anti-war congress took place. At this congress representatives of the Chinese working class youth formed 35 to 40 per cent. of the total number of delegates. Side by side with their older comrades, they declared their firm determination to fight by all means against the imperialist robbery of China, against the Kuomintang government of national treason and disgrace, against the sixth march of the imperialists and the Kuomintang on Soviet China.

* * *

War and fascism were regarded at the International Youth Congress not in the petty bourgeois, pacifist light, not as an accidental, spontaneous disaster, not as the result of certain misunderstandings or intrigues,

but as phenomena connected with the very existence of capitalist society.

"Adopting the general slogan of struggle against a ruinous régime, the Amsterdam (anti-war—Ed.) and anti-fascist movements—henceforward merged —have made an investigation into the causes of war and fascism in order to overcome them, and have found these causes in the very system of capitalism." (Manifesto of the International Anti-War and Anti-Fascist Youth Congress.)

So were condemned the attempts of the social-fascists and pacifists to separate fascism from capitalism. At the congress determined resistance was offered to attempts to make use of the anti-fascist struggle to further the war aims of the so-called democratic powers (e.g., France and Czechoslovakia against Germany) ; the process of fascisation of democratic states was exposed and the community of the source of fascism—capitalism—in all capitalist countries proved ; it was shown how the support of bourgeois democracy by the social-democratic parties prepares and clears the road for fascism, and that social-democracy is the principal social support of the bourgeoisie and its fascist dictatorship.

The slogan of "the enemy is in our own country," symbolically expressed in a large picture hung in the hall was the leading slogan of the congress. This slogan is of particular importance at a moment when, in a number of countries, the bourgeoisie and its social-fascist flunkeys are, under cover of "anti-fascist" propaganda, carrying through furious armament and preparation for war against Germany ; when, particularly in France and Czechoslovakia, successful attempts were made on the part of representatives of the following of the reactionaries and even the fascists, of the "gilded youth," of officers, to join the anti-fascist movement to make use of it in the imperialist interests of their own bourgeoisie.

The work of our class enemies was, of course, facilitated by the absence of clarity in principle, and of vigilance in this question during the preparations for the International Youth Congress.

What were the principal political slogans of the congress ? They were *War against imperialist war ;* struggle against the imperialism of the bourgeoisie of various countries ; and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The congress particularly drew attention to the struggle against the fascisation of the so-called democratic countries, and the task of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship by means of revolutionary struggle.

The congress did not confine itself to expressing its sympathy for all colonial and oppressed peoples, but put forward the task of *active support* for their struggle for liberation. In view of the fact that munitions works are already working at capacity, and that, even now, enormous quantities of armaments are being transported by sea and rail to the Far East, South American and Morocco, the congress made it one of the most important tasks of the youth to hinder by means of mass strikes, etc., the transport of armies and munitions.

The congress put before the delegates the task of consistent and undeviating struggle *against nationalist incitement and militarisation of the youth, against the bourgeois falsehood about the defence of one's imperialist "fatherland."* This has now become a task of more immediate importance than ever before. In democratic France 75 per cent. of every news-reel consists of military parades, manœuvres and physical training. In fascist Germany special "subjects" have been introduced for the youngest school children, intended to imbue them with a chauvinist spirit and hatred for France, Poland, the U.S.S.R., Lenin and the Bolsheviks. All this is intended to kindle the spirit of militarism and chauvinism and to prepare for war. According to the new plans of the fascist organisation "After Work" (organised on the principle of the Italian "Dopo Lavoro") "all the spiritual wealth of the nations," art, theatres, music, cinemas, gymnasiums, and the best buildings are put to the fascisation and military training of the youth.

The congress viewed all its tasks in the light of concrete everyday struggle of the youth against every act of fascisation and militarisation, of struggle for even the most trivial of its economic and political demands. This political platform of the International Youth Congress is directed against both pacifist flabbiness, which often conceals the hypocritical face of the instigators of imperialist war, and, in particular, the Second International and the S.Y.I., which in all countries actively support the militarisation of the youth and preparations for war and intervention, drivelling about "League of Nations control over armaments," about "the defence of democracy, in the 'free' countries" (free for which class ?—A.), about "general strike" against the "aggressor" (who is also defined by the imperialist League of Nations), and who in all countries without exception support compulsory labour for the youth, etc.

In the beginning of preparations for the congress, pacifist fallacies and illusions often penetrated even into the documents of the organising committee itself, which contained such vague and pacifist formulations as "we must seek the salvation of humanity by other means than war ; we must put an end to all social gestures which threaten peace ;" "the task of fighting for peace is the task of all men, and particularly of the youth, which is not yet involved in the muddled and fruitless discussions of the theoreticians and which wants to live." The campaign was often conducted under the slogan of

struggle against war in general, against bloodshed in general, even when it was a question of the struggle of the oppressed classes and peoples for liberation from their oppressors.

Later the campaign of preparation for the congress left behind these illusions and fallacies, and in his July article Henri Barbusse said to the youth :

"If you do not give definite, fearless and passionate expression to your ideas, do not definitely take up a deeply socialist and humane position, you will find yourselves, even against your own will, in the camp of the enemy, and fated to scarifice yourselves for a cause which is not your cause ; you will yourselves abandon your just and wonderful rôle."

In subsequent documents, i.e., the Manifesto of the International Youth Congress, the point was put still more clearly :—

"If there is a struggle in which you must take part, it is the final struggle, in which the old system which has outlived itself is opposed to the new system of the liberation of humanity."

And further :

"Passive refutation of war and war preparations ? Never ! It would mean surrendering with bound hands to the pleasure of the imperialists, who are armed to the teeth. We want to fight because we know that the imperialist foe can be finally despatched only through the mighty struggle of the acting masses."

If, during preparations for the congress, the pacifist slogan of "Enough bloodshed" often prevailed in the question of war in Morocco, the Manifesto of the congress formulates the task of actively supporting the struggle of the enslaved peoples for liberation. It is very characteristic of the mood of the masses of the youth that the numerous representatives of the pacifist, republican, etc., youth at the congress unanimously brushed aside the muddled pacifist arguments and adopted the platform of the congress.

* * *

Coming into this movement, the Young Communist Leagues played an important part in preparations for the congress. They organised a friendly contact with the masses of the youth, and made their first important step in the struggle for carrying out the decisions of the December plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. on mass work and on work within mass bourgeois youth organisations. The Young Communist Leagues saw plainly the way to get out of their sectarianism on to the road of broad mass work and struggle. The congress showed them how to work on a broad scale. But the sections of the Y.C.I. have only made their first steps in this direction. Not all the organisations of the Y.C.L., in the same way as not all the rank-and-file units of the Socialist youth organisations, realised the importance of the congress. At first a number of Leagues (the Belgian, Swedish and Danish) resisted preparations for the congress. The same may be said of certain Communist Parties. The basis of this resistance was underestimation of the immediate danger of war and fascism in their countries, lack of understanding of the enormous political importance of the congress in mobilising the masses of the youth for struggle against war and fascism, and in mass work in general, and a sectarian fear of work in mass organisations and among the broad masses of the toiling youth.

The success of the congress struck a blow not only at the open enemies and saboteurs of our movement, but also at the pessimists, disbelievers and sectarians in our own ranks.

One of the main shortcomings in the preparations for the congress was a *peaceful, pacifist nature* of the campaign. Preparations were rarely accompanied by real action, by concrete organisation of the struggle against the already raging imperialist war and fascism, against concrete cases of militarisation and fascisation of the youth and exploitation of it in munitions works, in ports, mines, schools and trade schools, forced labour camps, universities, mass organisations, etc.

In spite of these shortcomings we have examples of good work, upon some of which we shall comment.

In Troyes, in France, air force manœuvres which were to take place under Marshal Petain were for the first time successfully hampered. By order of general headquarters, during the first day of the manœuvres after 9 p.m. the whole population of the town was to be indoors with lights out. Our comrades carried on extensive agitation from the very beginning among the whole population, and particularly among the workers of the three textile mills in Troyes (meetings at factory gates, numerous talks with the workers). In posters, proclamations and speeches the workers and the whole population were called on to come out into the streets in the evening, against the orders of general headquarters, and not only not to put out lights in the houses but to light bonfires wherever possible. General headquarters postponed the manœuvres for two days, but did not succeed in disorganising the movement. When in the evening of August 28 the signal was given and electricity and gas switched off in the town, bonfires and fireworks were lighted, the roofs of houses, covered with a phosphorescent substance, lit up ; in the squares the fountains, filled with paraffin, spouted fire ; telegraph connections between the army units were broken off, and the workers came out on to the street, fighting with the police, and demonstrated until 1 a.m., until the last army plane disappeared form view in connection with the aviation days.

The Czechoslovakian Y.C.L. also manifested considerable activity in connection with the aviation days (e.g., in Prague, Hradec and other towns).

There can be no doubt that such action, as it is mass action and particularly as it is connected with organisational work and struggle for the everyday demands of the youth, is of great political importance, particularly in view of the important part which air forces will occupy in the future war. It is really struggle against imperialist war *before it begins*, the most important thing at the present moment.

In some plants (Krupp, the A.E.G. in Germany) preparations for the congress were bound up with the struggle against semi-military training in the plant under the name of gymnastics and for pay for the time lost in this compulsory training. There are also examples which show that anti-war work is beginning in many gigantic plants of the war industries. For instance, in the Renault works where tanks are built and incredible terror and spying reigns, headed by one white guard Kryshkov, at first small illegal meetings were organised at which questions connected with the congress were discussed and delegates proposed. Then meetings were organised in workers' restaurants and before the factory gates, two of which were attended by three thousand workers. At these meetings the workers enthusiastically confirmed the candidatures for the congress, which were not mentioned openly. The result of this work was, for the time being, only to popularise our movement and its aims to a certain extent. We cannot by any means consider that this success has been consolidated. Work in the factories remains the weakest section of work, and precisely the weakness of this work explains the insufficiently militant nature of the whole campaign.

Together with this, during the preparations for the congress many organising committees got into contact with a whole number of large factories, including large plants of the war industries, which made it possible for them to extend and consolidate their influence in the factories and make them the foundations of the whole movement. This will undoubtedly be assisted by the decisions of the factory conference organised in connection with the International Youth Congress. This conference discussed such questions as the exposure and sabotage of war orders in the plants, timely information of the railwaymen and dockers of the transport of munitions, etc., even when they are masked as civil goods ; connection between the large munitions works of various countries—Skoda, Schneider-Creusot, Krupp, Citröen, Renault, etc. ; patronage of plants of so-called democratic countries over those of fascist countries ; border conferences of delegates of neighbouring countries ; struggle against the spying and provocation system in the factories and against company sports and other organisations ; against the militarisation of trade schools and the mobilisation of women workers, particularly in the chemical and textile industry ; work among the unemployed, fight for unemployed benefits and against compulsory labour ; connection between young workers and soldiers, and collection of the "soldier's penny ;" fight of men due to serve for pocket money, return to the factory after service in the army, etc.

Here is an example of how one of the decisions of the factory conference is carried out which is worthy of imitation. Finding out that the Hotchkiss machine-gun works in Paris were sending machine-guns to South Africa via Havre, the young workers in the machine-gun works informed the young Havre dockers of the false labels attached to the cases of machine-guns. In Havre the young dockers refused to load the machine-guns, and for a long time two hundred cases of machine-guns remained in the port, being sent only when Peruvian sailors loaded them on to the ships. Although the struggle was not carried through to the end, the first step which the Hotchkiss workers have made is an example to be followed by the working class youth in all countries.

A number of the sections of the Y.C.I., aiming at overcoming their sectarianism, began to establish comradely connections with youth organised in other organisations. For instance, in Kaschau (Czechoslovakia) the Y.C.L. organisation of 23 members invited all the other youth organisations to take part in preparations for the congress. At first only seven organisations responded, but later, thanks to the initiative and activity of the members, twenty-four youth organisations were drawn in including the "Hawk" scouts, the social-democratic organisations, the Hungarian scouts, etc.

A serious mistake of some sections of the Y.C.I. was that they failed to understand that *the united front does not call for refraining from explaining our standpoint as regards fascism and war*, and must not lead to bluntir.g the edge of our principles, to giving up criticism of views which are hostile to the cause of the working class and the struggle against organisations hostile to the proletariat.

These are precisely the opportunist distortions of united front tactics which occurred in a number of Leagues. In some places there were leaders who failed to understand that there is not and cannot be a united front between us and the "gilded youth," with the following of the bourgeois fascists or with groups of counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. In some places it was not understood that we cannot carry on a consistent struggle against fascism and war without ruthlessly exposing the social-fascist "labour leaders," rotten and turned bourgeois to the

core, who vote for war budgets, propagandise and introduce compulsory labour, talk about the defence of the bourgeois "fatherland" and step by step facilitate the advance of fascism.

The congress adopted a highly important decision *on convening national youth congresses against fascism and war in the spring of* 1934. Thus the reports on the International Youth Congress must be *inseparably bound up with preparations for the national youth congresses.* But the preliminary results of the former campaign show that it is not sufficiently bound up with preparations for the national congresses, and that these preparations are still not sufficiently energetic. All the work must *consolidate and extend* the successes achieved, and if *all the lessons* of the International Youth Congress are taken into account there can be no doubt that this movement will assume still greater dimensions and a still greater, more militant and active character ; that it will at the same time help to explain to the broadest masses, by means of extensive discussion and verification in the struggle, the correctness of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of the policy of the Communist Parties and the Soviet Union.

The youth movement must become *the front-rank fighter wherever particular fearlessness and self-sacrifice is required in the struggle.* The work of every youth committee, whether in a factory, a trade school, a forced labour camp, a school, laboratory or university, in the street or in a mass organisation, *must be judged by the ability the committee has shown to concretise the decisions of the Paris Youth Congress, to organise concrete militant struggle in its particular surroundings and to unite the broad masses of the youth around this militant work.* There are grounds to count on preparations for the congress in single countries to fill up those *enormous* gaps which have existed in our work up to now. *It is a question, first of all, of work in the factories, ports, trade unions, in the fascist countries, among the peasant youth and the youth of oppressed nationalities, and among girls, particularly those employed in the textile and chemical industries.*

There are grounds to count on *the connections with the soldiers, seamen and men due to serve* established during preparations for the congress (in Czechoslovakia 43 barracks—1,400 men—were drawn in, in Sweden about 1,000 men in the navy, in Belgium about 900 soldiers, in Spain four regiments, of which one held a conference of about a hundred delegates) being not only consolidated but extended.

Under all these conditions we must place in the centre of attention *the training of cadres of mass organisers and agitators*, who will carry on the revolutionary mass work and be able to consolidate and extend the movement, will be intelligible to the masses and lead them. This type of worker, this type of activist of the youth movement, must become *the central and most respected figure in every country, in every cell and organisation.*

The revolutionary youth and the older revolutionary workers must clearly realise the enormous importance of extending this movement under the present circumstances of the world's ever closer approach to a new round of revolutions and wars. They must make every effort to make the national youth congresses to take place in the spring of 1934 and all the mass work in connection with these congresses an important stage in the extension of the movement.

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THE ONLY VERBATIM REPORTS AVAILABLE.

THE SIXTH KUOMINTANG OFFENSIVE AND THE VICTORY OF THE CHINESE RED ARMY.

By KAN-SEN.

WORLD imperialism has never rendered as open and active assistance to the Kuomintang in its struggle against the Red Army and the Soviets in China as it did during the sixth offensive.

The appeal of the Soviet Government of China, dated September 6, 1933, says :—

". . . In this sixth offensive of the Kuomingtang the role of the imperialists as organisers and incendiaries appeared more clearly than ever before. The imperialists of all countries are taking part in the sixth offensive not merely by money and arms, but by troops as well.

"American imperialism, in addition to granting to the Nanking Government 15 million American dollars under the pretext of the so-called 'cotton and wheat loan' and 40 million American dollars in credit for the needs of aviation, has sent to the aid of the Nanking forces, for the destruction of our life and freedom, 150 military planes, scores of steamers with guns, tanks, machine guns, poison gases and explosives, and they have hundreds of their pilots and other military and technical specialists in the Kuomintang army.

"The British Ambassador to China, Lampson, during his special journey through Szechwan, advanced to the militarist Lu Hsiang another 20 million pounds sterling and arms and ammunition for the struggle against our fourth Red Army.

"Despite the extreme acuteness of the struggle between the American, British, Japanese and other imperialists for spheres of influence and the division of China, against Soviet China they act together inspiring and pressing upon their lackeys, the Nanking, Canton and Northern militarists to join forces against the Red Army and against the Soviets."

With the support of world imperialism the Kuomintang mobilized enormous military forces for the offensive against the Red Army. While in the first five offensives only Nanking forces actually took part (with the exception of the fourth offensive in which Canton forces also participated), for the sixth offensive the Kuomintang mobilised troops from all of its regions : the units under the command of Chen Tsi-tan moved from Kwantung, the forces of Tsai Tin-kai from Fukien, the forces of He Kiang from Hunan, and Kuomintang armies were moved from Hupei and Szechwan as well. Altogether fully a million men were mobilised, and no less than 642,000 against the central Soviet district alone. The imperialists armed these forces according to the last word of military technique (warplanes, tanks, guns, poison gases, etc.). At the same time Chang Kai-shek, on the basis of a plan worked out by the German fascist general von Seekt is attempting to surround the Red Army from all sides in order to drive the Soviet Government into a blind alley and resort to the chemical method of warfare for the final destruction of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the basis of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China.

However, world imperialism failed to achieve its purpose. On the contrary, the Red Army has won some great victories on many fronts.

1. The Red Army of the Central region of the Soviet Republic of China defeated the Nineteenth Army in the Fukien Province and repulsed the first attacks of the enemy against the Central Soviet region. Chang Kai-shek's attempt to surround the Central Soviet region on all sides, from the North Western section of Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwangtung and Hunan has thus ended in failure. *On the contrary, the Chinese Red Army has won a number of important victories, capturing the City of Lenchen in the southern part of Fukien, routing the 78th, 71st and 72nd divisions of the Nineteenth Army of General Tsai Tin-kai and capturing* 4,600 *rifles*, 50 *heavy machine guns*, 30 *light machine guns*, 500 *mausers*, 400,000 *cartridges*, 3 *military radio sets*, 5,000 *hand grenades*, 2,500 *dans* (*a dan is equal to* 60 *kilograms*) *of food*, 2,000 *helmets and* 3,500 *war prisoners* (*including a brigade commander, three regimental commanders*, 4 *battalion commanders*) *; three Kuomintang regiments joined the Red Army* (according to a report published by the Japanese "Nichi Nichi" in Tokio a complete division deserted to the Red Army). In the northern part of Fukien the Red Army gained a victory over the Kuomintang forces, commanded by generals Tsai Tin-kai, He Kiang, Lu Sing-pai, capturing the big city of Yanping, one of the three biggest centres of the Fukien Province, together with 12 steamers laden with food (salt, etc.) and ammunition (it took more than 10,000 workers to unload 8 of them) ; 2,000 workers of Yanping joined the Red Army and more than 85 per cent. of the workers joined the Red trade unions ; one battalion of the 52nd division of the Kuomintang forces joined the Red Army. As a result, the Kuomintang forces in the Fukien Province are unable at present to develop any attack upon the Red Army, which has made it possible for the Red Army to concentrate upon repulsing Chang Kai-shek's main forces.

The great victory of the heroic Red Army in the Central Soviet region speeded up the process of revolutionisation of the Nineteenth Army and of the workers and peasants in the Fukien Province. The militarists of Fukien, seeing that the Red Army was invincible, discontinued their offensive and came out against Chang Kai-shek and Japan to save their own faces. This is a great political victory.

The Red Army succeeded in defeating the enemy on many fronts and occupying big cities, despite the most determined offensive of the enemy forces.

Although Chang Kai-shek is preparing to throw more forces against us, although we have not yet succeeded in defeating this principal enemy on the front, yet the situation in Chang Kai-shek's forces has been seriously aggravated by the creation of an independent Government in Fukien which speeded up the disintegration in the Kuomintang camp and weakened the hold of Chang Kai-shek. The difficulty of Chang Kai-shek's position lies in the fact that he is forced, on the one hand, to use a section of his army against Fukien, and on the other, to withdraw to the rear several thousand of his soldiers owing to the fact that the Red Army has defeated the 79th Kuomintang division in the regions of Tsinsi Tsysi (Kiangsi Province) capturing over 1,000 rifles.

2. Active operations of the Chinese Red Army in all the Soviet regions. The Red Army units in the other Soviet regions also developed active operations against Chang Kai-shek's forces, combining their actions with those of the Red Army in the central Soviet region. *In the Szechwan Province the Red Army won important victories over the local militarists led directly by British imperialists.* The Soviet region in Szechwan has been broadened, *the Red Army recently captured one of the biggest ports in the Province, the city of Wansian, located on the Yangtse River.* The bombardment of Wansian by the British warships in 1925 is still fresh in everybody's memory. In this city, which is an open commercial port, British, Japanese, French and other concessions have existed ever since the conclusion of an agreement between the Government of the Tsin dynasty and British imperialism. At the present time Wansian, this most important strategical imperialist point in Szechwan is under the Red flag of the Soviets. *All the privileges of imperialism in this city have been abolished.*

This glorious victory of the fourth Red Army of China marks not only a blow at the Szechwan generals' offensive against the Soviet regions, but has weakened the rule of British imperialism in the Szechwan Province, created a threat to Hankow and demoralised Chang Kai-shek's forces.

The Red Army units operating in the western part of the Hunan and Hupei Provinces under the leadership of Comrade Ho Lung are broadening the territory of this Soviet region. At the present time Red Army units have penetrated also the Szechwan Province, the districts south of the city of Wansian for combined action with the Red Army units which occupied this city.

In the south-western part of the Szechwan Province the Party has organised a series of peasant uprisings and two mutinies in Kuomintang brigades. These brigades held a number of county capitals including Mabian, Obian and Omei, setting up a local Soviet Government and forming a separate Red Army division. Thus one more new Soviet region has been added in the Szechwan Province.

The Red Army units of north-eastern Kiangsi penetrated the territory of Chekiang (the home of Chang Kai-shek) and captured the county of Kaihua. This has forced Chang Kai-shek to withdraw part of his forces into Chekiang from the Kiangsi Province, where he had planned to deal the main blow at the central Soviet region.

3. The atrocities perpetrated by the imperialist plunderers and the Kuomintang upon the peaceful population of the Soviet regions aroused tremendous indignation among the toiling masses of Soviet China and the Kuomintang territories. The toiling masses are rallying around the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army to fight against the imperialist intervention in China and the Kuomintang, and for the Chinese Soviets.

The toiling population of the Soviet Republic of China, freed from oppression, responded with great enthusiasm to the call of the Soviet Government to strengthen the ranks of the Red Army and defend themselves against the brutal rule of bourgeois-landlord Kuomintang, and the imperialists' attempts to wipe out the revolution. The masses are joining the Red Army under the slogan: "To be a Red Army man is your duty." Lately the following results have been achieved in the campaign to strengthen the Red Army (according to incomplete data):—

(*a*) At delegate conferences of agricultural workers, salesmen and artisans, called by the Executive bureau of the All-China Federation of Labour in the Central Soviet region, a decision was passed to form two divisions of farm labourers, salesmen and artisans. This decision met with an enthusiastic response among the local workers, and as a result, the preliminary plan of the extension of the Red Army was not only fulfilled but exceeded. On August 1 (anti-War day, anniversary of the Nanchang uprising, anniversary of the creation of the Chinese Red Army) a special model division of the Red Army was organised by the Soviet Government.

(*b*) Volunteers numbering 4,505 persons joined the Red Army from among the local armed detach-

ments of the Singo County, and 1,073 of the workers and toiling peasants, totalling 5,578 persons who formed a special division in the Singo County which became part of the third Red Army.

(*c*) In the Boashen County 2,750 people joined the Red Army, forming a new regiment; 2,895 people joined the Red Army in the Shenli County, forming two new regiments, and 3,900 people joined the Red Army in Shichen County, forming one regiment. A total of 6,000 people thus joined the Red Army in these three counties and merged with the fifth Red Army as a single division. This work of strengthening the ranks of the Red Army still continues.

(*d*) A model division numbering 1,900 persons has been formed in the Juitsin County and merged with the first Red Army.

(*e*) About 2,300 people were mobilised in the Gunlue County, 3,800 in the Gansian County, totalling 6,100 persons who were formed into a division.

(*f*) In the Yundu County 1,900 people were mobilised into the Red Army and merged with the 23 corps which is the basic military unit on the front, south of Kiangsi.

(*g*) In other counties such as Vanyan, Taihi, Lean, etc., about a thousand people joined the Red Army.

(*h*) The young Communists of the Kiangsi Province are conducting a campaign for the formation of a division named after the Young Communist International. This appeal has met with a wide response among the working youth. In the Yunfeng County over 500 young men have joined the Red Army and in the Gansiang county more than 400; over 150 youths have joined the Red Army in the Gunlue County as a result of the work of a single cell (all these figures have been taken from correspondence from the Soviet regions).

In the campaign for the strengthening of the Red Army, the working class in the Soviet territories of China, led by the Communist Party and Red trade unions have displayed tremendous activity, heroically supporting the Red Army. *The working masses have organised two divisions* which will unquestionably strengthen the leading part played by the proletariat in the Red Army. At a delegate conference of poor peasant groups, attended by 800 delegates, an address was delivered by *Mao Tse-tung, the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic, and a unanimous decision was passed to create an army of* 80,000 *Red soldiers*. A correspondent from the Soviet region says that "in the campaign to strengthen the ranks of the Red Army even the old men and women take an active part; although they are unfit for military service they are conducting vigorous agitation among the young generation in favour of volunteering in the ranks of the Red Army. Thus in the Singo and Shichen Counties the toiling population of the cities and villages is sending its sons into the ranks of the Red Army. In the villages of the Gunlue County old women are telling their sons and husbands the need for joining the Red Army ranks. This is an unprecedented support of the Army by the great masses of the population in China."

Displaying tremendous activity and enthusiasm in the campaign for the strengthening of the Red Army, the population of the Soviet regions realises, that in order to defeat the sixth offensive of the counter-revolution it is necessary to strain all energy and direct it in the *struggle against the Kuomintang economic blockade, for the economic development of the Soviet regions*, for the supply of the Red Army. One of the last despatches from the Soviet region says that in the Soviet parts of Kiansi the work of extending the cultivated area by the ploughing up of vacant lands has been carried out with much success.

Thus in the Boashen County 6,000 dans of idle land were ploughed in 10 days, and in the Gunlue County over 5,000 dans were similarly ploughed. At the same time active agitation is being conducted for the improvement of the food supplies and a saving of food. The workers of the Yuidu County have voluntarily proposed to cut the wages paid to the workers engaged in transporting food. Special funds are being set up in many places to supply the Red Army through food economies by the population. *In the Singo County the women have formed special production brigades and are fighting for the realisation of the slogan, "not an inch of ground untilled."*

During the past two months the toiling population has returned to the Soviet Government 200,697 dollars' worth of Government bonds without compensation. Other economies amount to 22,596 dollars. In addition to donation of loan bonds, the toiling population organises voluntary collections to help the Government. At the same time various mass organisations in the Soviet regions are making proposals to the Soviet Government to issue a new loan to the mount of 3 million dollars for the development of co-operative trade and establishment of new enterprises. The Government is receiving scores of such proposals daily. In Juisin the toiling population has subscribed 400,000 dollars to this future loan on its own initiative. The population of various Soviet districts is doing this, precisely because the support of the Soviet Government is, to the masses, tantamount to the protection of the land and freedom gained by them under the Soviets.

The movement in favour of the defence of Soviet China is developing also among the workers and peasants of Kuomintang China. During the strike of the workers of the Anglo-American Tobacco

Company in Shanghai in which more than 8,000 people took part, a slogan was advanced for "the protection of the Chinese Soviets, against the offensive of the Kuomintang and the imperialists upon the Red Army." The petty bourgeois and the student masses, who have no relations with our Party, have lately been displaying tremendous discontent with the Kuomintang, which has betrayed the three eastern Provinces in North China and clearly capitulated to Japanese imperialism. Tremendous indignation among the population was aroused also by the fact that the Koumintang has sent a million strong army against the Chinese Soviets, instead of fighting against Japanese invaders. At the anti-War Conference held in Shanghai there were more than 70 delegates from the Shanghai textile mills, tobacco factories, seamen, railwaymen and municipal workers, as well as from volunteer detachments in Manchuria, Chahar, Szechwan, Hapei, Kiansu, Kwantung, Kiangsi, Shensi, from the Red Army of the Chinese Soviet Republic and from the soldiers of the Nineteenth Army in the Fukien Province. This Conference unanimously passed a protest resolution against the policy of the Kuomintang and imperialists conducting a fight against Soviet China and the Red Army. Sun Tsi-ling, the widow of Sun Yat-sen, stated that "only the fight for the overthrow of the Kuomintang, the fight against the offensive upon the Chinese Soviets can insure the end of the war of Japan and of the other imperialists for the partition and division of China."

4. In connection with the victories of the Red Army, the growth of influence of the Chinese Soviet Government and in connection with the fact that the struggle of the masses against the Kuomintang offensive upon the Soviets and the Red Army is developing, not only in the Soviet regions but in Kuomintang China as well, *the contradictions within the camp of the counter-revolution have sharpened.* The finances of the Nanking Government are in a disastrous condition. As a result of the sharpening of the conflict between the United States and imperialist Japan, and in connection with the successes of the Soviet regions and the Red Army, the struggle within the Kuomintang is sharpening between the Nanking Government headed by Chang Kai-shek, and the group of Fukien generals (Tsai Tin-kai, Chang Huan-nai and others), between Hu Han-min and Chen Min-tsui on the one hand and Chen Tsi-tang and Chang Kai-shek on the other.

At the same time the direct attack of the imperialists against the Soviets and the Red Army has also been strengthened. American, Japanese, British, Italian, Dutch and other marines are prepared to land in the ports of Fuchow, Amoy, Swatow and Hong Kong. In Tientsin the imperialists are creating an aerodrome for about 1,000 aeroplanes in order to be able to render assistance to Chang Kai-shek in his fight against Soviet China at any time and prepare for the war against Soviet Russia. British imperialism is sending its Navy to Wansian and preparing to repeat the bombardment of its population on an even bigger scale. Chang Kai-shek hastily transferred a large part of the "cotton and wheat loan" received from the American capitalists to the other imperialists to buy aeroplanes in the United States with the money thus received (see report in "Shinpao"). Chang Kai-shek is building aerodromes in Linchuan, Tsinan, Nanchan and is reorganising his headquarters, and creating a new command for the struggle against Communism. Chang Kai-shek went to Fuchow to personally direct the operations against the Red Army. Extending his northern front for 133 miles he issued an order for a general offensive against the Red Army. At the same time he took a number of other steps to capitulate to Japanese imperialism, giving instructions to the outspoken pro-Japanese Huanfui and Chang Tso-ping to accept all the demands of the Japanese imperialists in order to obtain more effective assistance from them in the fight against the Chinese Soviets.

International imperialism is preparing even more energetically for the most brutal suppression of the Chinese Soviet revolution. The proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the entire world must clearly realise that the Red Army, by gaining a victory in this fight against the sixth counter-revolutionary offensive in Kiangsi *has not yet definitely defeated the main enemy Chang Kai-shek*, who possesses tanks, warplanes and all the chemical instruments of warfare and is directly supported by international imperialism. *The proletariat and the toilers of the whole world must strengthen their struggle in the defence of the Chinese Soviet republic and display new examples of international proletarian solidarity with the toiling masses of China, with their worker peasant Red Army in their heroic struggle against the offensive of the imperialists and Kuomintang.*

It is necessary to remember that although the Chinese Red Army and the wide masses of workers and peasants are conducting a heroic struggle for the Soviets, they are unable to prevent the shipment of arms, aeroplanes, tanks, guns and poison gas from America, England, Japan, France and other imperialist countries to China. True, in the imperialist countries the great masses of the toilers, our class brothers, are already beginning to develop a fight in the defence of the Chinese Soviet republic, but they have not yet carried out their primary task in full. Our leader, Comrade Sen Katayama,

who recently passed away, told us before his death that "the danger of an armed attack upon the Soviet Union is now greater than ever before. We must support the Red Army of China because it is a force capable of defending revolutionary China and the U.S.S.R."

Toilers of the whole world! In order that the Chinese Soviet Republic might not be subjected to further attacks from imperialism and the Kuomintang, to put up a real fight in the defence of the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the international proletariat, and against the new imperialist war, that you might free yourselves of the capitalist exploitation and oppression in your own country, you must take up the struggle in the *defence of the Soviets in China*.

The Chinese Red Army and the great masses of workers and peasants bitterly fighting against the counter revolutionary offensive, against aviation, tank and chemical attacks, by the Kuomintang hordes, are waiting with impatience for your help and assistance.

EXAMPLES OF THE WORK OF C.P. OF JAPAN IN THE ARMY.

THE abridged translations of correspondence of revolutionary soldiers, cited below, were selected from articles published in the "Kheisi No Tomo" (Friend of the Soldier), the Communist Party of Japan's organ for soldiers, and permit an estimate of the Japanese Communist Party's intensive, painstaking work among the mass of soldiers.

The correspondence on "Twenty days of battle in a barracks" deals with the experience of groups of Revolutionary soldiers in one regiment, and shows how much persistence and enthusiasm the Japanese comrades bring to this work. However, when the author of the correspondence makes such an assertion as "There is absolutely not one soldier who would be for the monarchy" it reveals that the Japanese Communist soldiers do not sufficiently understand the significance of an organised consolidation of their influence as yet, and are somewhat inclined to overestimate its strength. The naming of the committee of struggle set up by the soldiers as "The Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Communist Party of Japan" and the creation of a "Troop of death" for distributing leaflets is also incorrect. In this respect, the Japanese comrades have not only exposed themselves to superfluous danger, but have also hampered their work among the masses of soldiers.

The correspondence, "How a Soldier's Committee was Created," gives us an example of the various forms which can be used in the work among soldiers and of the skilful approach of a communist to soldiers. But apprehensions arise lest the author of the correspondence has regarded the everyday struggles as an end in themselves. That would be extremely dangerous. Every pettiest discontent of the soldier should be used, but the work should not be limited to that. The task should be to organise protest offensives among the mass of soldiers on the most burning questions and win the soldiers to support the Communist Party, to convert the Imperialist War into a Civil War.

1.—A TWENTY-DAY BATTLE IN BARRACKS.*

(The experience of N Regiment before the departure to the Front.)

Days go by without rest or sleep in the barracks where reserves have been gathered for the formation of a war-time staff. All are excited, exclamations of "Banzai" (Hurrah) resound everywhere, banners flutter. Not one of the soldiers utters a word about either his family or his native place. The officers, endeavouring to exhibit the power of the Imperialist Army, enflame the excited soldiers still more with military-patriotic agitation.

We were separated from the first party dispatched to the front immediately after settlement in the barracks. For some reason or other, we 15 or 16 men were put in the second draft. Everyone was busy caring for the horses, cleaning the arms in preparation for the offensive. But we lay peacefully on the parade ground under the trees, passing the time in conversation.

Nobody knew why we had been left behind, no one of those left behind knew the others; therefore, everyone acted carefully and talked only about the summer rains, about sick relatives, told of the Russian-Japanese War, etc. Then we observed that something in a uniform with wide epaulets was perambulating nearby. One of the comrades surmised that "That is a gendarme snooping about here." And then we understood that it was a spy. Like a flash, we all stood up at once, but the gendarme, evidently scenting trouble, set off at a run. It became clear to us now why they had not dispatched us to the front and who those left behind were.

* "Kheisi No Tomo," 2, March 10, 1933.

From the conversation it was revealed that we were all members of the "*Nomin Kumeai*" (*Peasants' Union*) *and consequently of the same ideas.*

But now, we decide, it is impossible for us to remain silent. We will being an active struggle, we resolved. "Are there any objections?" But just then they separated us at work; one went to this, another to that company. A method of communication was worked out. Responsible persons were elected. An "order to advance" was immediately given.

* * *

But the first attack failed. However much we had agitated, however much we had tried to explain "to whom the war was profitable," "how the families lived who were left behind in the villages," "that Manchuria is for the bourgeois and the landlords," and so forth—all was in vain. The war fever excited all. They were polite to us only at a distance. When we approached they snorted and scampered off.

But our spirits did not fall. And well after a week had gone by the results of our agitation began to tell. They were detected when the troops began to leave the station amid the "joyful cries of those who saw them off."

Even meetings with relatives had been prohibited till this time. And now when, perhaps for the last time, the soldiers saw their wives with children on their backs and their aged parents, the effects of the officers' agitation completely vanished. However much they shouted "Banzai" (Hurrah) only an insignificant handful of soldiers responded. What had become of the former enthusiasm? All had pale, gloomy faces. The number gradually increased of those who said, "That was the truth which you told us." All looked as if they were being buried alive. But—"to do nothing." The chagrin of all knew no bounds, when we explained about how we would all go together to the front and against whom we should turn our arms. Then we cheered up and decided to begin a more general offensive, to carry on intensive work also among the regular soldiers (on actual service).

Those who remained behind and were not dispatched in the front ranks were subjected to a merciless military drill. The soldiers thought "It's better at the front. It's better to go to death."

"Let us go and drink tea with biscuits," we invite five or six regular soldiers and start a conversation about the village, about the family, etc.

"What will happen to the family if I die; will they be able to sow the fields?" "Try going blind, of course, your bride will forsake you," or about children that must soon be born or about sick relatives, or about whether "It would be good if there were no war," and "What should be done in order to end the war."

* * *

The *regular* soldiers at first felt shy about speaking. There were even those who became gloomy when the conversation turned to family questions. The first day produced no substantial results, but already on the second day 20 were gathered together and on the third day about 50 regulars. Besides, the reserves called upon us with the request to relate what is going on throughout the world. On the fourth day 100 more men were gathered together at the canteen. And those with one and two years' service began to talk freely about their discontent. They began with abuses of a company commander who had punished one young soldier when he had broken down with fatigue from the morning drill. Somebody said that one of the soldiers who had been through the Russian-Japanese War had a daughter who had been sold into prostitution. Questions came to light also about those who were in arrears with rent payments for last year. All the conversations led up to one point, "War is not needed."

We talked a lot about the need to protest against the war, which is being carried on to occupy Manchuria in the interests only of rich men and landlords; about the need to compel the rich and the landlords to provide for the families of those who were called to the army, in particular for those in the front line. The notion that "War is not necessary" was converted into the cry "Down with war!" which began to resound on all sides. *A remarkable anti-war meeting was opened.*

The orderly officer arrived in a hurry. However loudly a soldier shouts in a secluded place, as soon as he appears before an officer he again becomes undersized.

The command was heard: "Attention!"

Then one of the soldiers stood up and, turning to the officer, said: "For some time past we have been somewhat fed up with talk about infringements of discipline. There is a request that at the canteen and at places of amusement the soldiers be not compelled to salute, etc. Just because this is demanded at such places people forget to salute there where they should." In a chorus all supported him: "He's right!"

The officer, flushing all over, withdrew for aid to the regiment headquarters. But when five or six staff men appeared at the canteen the electric lights suddenly went out. The sounds of blows resounded, of bursting beer bottles, of a silent struggle in the darkness. When the officer on duty switched on the light the staff men had already gone. The officer on duty pouted but being alone there was

nothing for him to do and he cheerlessly set sail for home. *The anti-war meeting was continued.*

* * *

Five or six of us reserves were sent to the guard-room the following morning. Obstinately, we answered "Don't know" to all questions and we were released after two days. The news reached us after that that the regiment commander had declared that nevertheless "he does not prohibit leaves of absence" on the following Sunday. All rejoiced; indeed, after such an affair, nobody expected absences to be permitted. We realised our strength for the first time and daringly began to prepare for the second struggle.

Before the leave of absence, every Sunday morning, the commander of the regiment repeated: "You have read and seen the supreme decree. The greatest offence is overstaying a leave of absence. Warriors must respect orders and observe fidelity to the emperor." We repeat these words after the commander and think to ourselves "A warrior must be clever." "Away with the supreme decree." *Such was the unanimous opinion of all.* We began immediately to set up a plan of struggle against the "Supreme decree."

On Saturday evening, there was a meeting of reserves and two years' service men. 50 to 60 men from every company were in the room. "How shall we put an end to the operation of the decree?" "We will all protest and simply not carry it out." "That's right." "Count me in." "Are there any objections?" Thus the resolution was immediately accepted. All the parts were distributed. We decided to communicate our resolution to the soldiers of all companies during the night. It is true, several did not regard it seriously enough. Several skipped for joy when they were informed about it. There were also some among the youth who were afraid. In such cases, perhaps incorrectly, the influence of old soldiers and threats were brought to bear. But during the night the preparations in general were carried out.

* * *

Well, and in the morning, as usual with a stern face, the commander made a speech. The officers lined up the ranks. After the commander a soldier in the front rank repeated: "The duty of a warrior . . . the observance of fidelity . . ." A voice is head from the rear rank: "The warriors protest!" *Voices resound simultaneously from all companies: "We protest, we protest!"* For the time being the commander of the regiment was stunned and stood ten minutes like one rooted to the spot. The officers also dropped their arms and only exchanged glances. Against their will they came to permit the leaves of absence.

After this they exposed the five or six known persons, who this time sat for three days in the guard-room. The examination went easily. On the next Sunday the leaves of absence would be absolutely unobstructed.

The joy of the soldiers in all companies knew no bounds. They were filled with confidence in their own strength and in the power of solidarity. Craven fear before military discipline quickly vanished. All were full of impatience, and their hands itched to do something.

* * *

The day of the regiment jubilee drew near. "We will arrange a demonstration again on the day of the jubilee," was the talk of the soldiers, and the initiative came this time from the masses. Official selections were not made, but the soldiers said: "It is necessary to observe the directions of Kumako." "It is necessary to follow after Kisi," and about ten soldier representatives were elected generally. 50 or 60 men gathered together as usual in order to consider what to undertake on the day of the jubilee, so as "To arrange for this." A suggestion was made to issue leaflets and slogans: "We protest point blank against the Imperialist War." "Recall everyone out of Manchuria at once." "Provide for the families of those called away to the army and who occupy the front line!" "Leave of absence, free assembly and correspondence." "Reduce the term of service to one year." And others.

Gradually, one after the other, the soldiers begin to speak. Their speeches are accompanied by exclamations: "That's right." "We support you." About ten proposals were accepted in this manner.

But how should we sign ourselves? Here we were at our wits end. What, after all, should it be called? Nobody knew in general whom we represented. Somebody exclaimed: "And what if we call it the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Japanese Communist Party?"

Everyone stared, but nobody was scared. The suggestion was immediately accepted.

A "troop of death" was organised for distributing leaflets; several men were organised for the preparation of leaflets for the following Sunday.

* * *

At night, as usual, the commander of the regiment again summoned six men.

But it proved that in the rush the squad for the protection of those who distributed leaflets was not set up. The distribution of leaflets proved unsuccessful.

We were in such a frame of mind that we wanted to cry and cry; indeed, it seemed to us that it would not be regrettable to die if only these leaflets were distributed.

It is true that all this is scanty experience, but *absolutely not one soldier is for the monarchy.*

I understood clearly that the workers and peasants in military uniforms are our adherents.

2.—HOW THE SOLDIERS' COMMITTEE WAS CREATED.

(The Story of a Revolutionary Soldier.)

We will relate, as detailed as possible, the manner in which comrades who carried out instructed work set up a soldiers' committee.

(1) By means of conversations giving special attention to confidences of an autobiographical character and to expressions of the frame of mind, good relations are set up with all.

(2) The general confidence, friendly relations and respect of all are won.

(3) As a rule, the lead is taken in all activities.

How were these three most important tasks carried out ?

(1) The first days of barrack drill had already passed, and now one could already get leave of absence to town. First of all an excursion circle was formed for the purpose of seeing Tokio. It's not a matter of a name. To those who like free amusements and are unacquainted with the streets of Tokio I offer my services as a guide to the Ueno Zoological Park. In this way I was able to get in close contact with fellows from the villages. I not only carry on friendly conversations with them, in which we come to know one another and confide our discontents and indignations ; I not only drag them about to different places such as Ueno, Asamusa, but in the evening, upon our return from these excursions, *I lead them into the factory districts and call at acquaintances who are members of trade unions, where we are treated with tea and the rest. I draw the soldiers into conversations about trade union affairs. That is a good school for fellows out of the villages.*

When summer comes there are no soldiers who do not like to dodge military study and drill under the sultry, scorching sky. We organised swimming circles and on free days we all go together to swim. One day we go to Sumidanov river, the next day to the Dzing swimming pool. Sometimes 20 or 30 men gather together. And I am always the instigator.

(2) Then reviews of clippings from newspapers and journals were organised for those who preferred study to outings. From the magazines "King" or "Nikhon Tamasi," everyone clipped the articles, short stories, anecdotes and poetry which interested him and pasted them up for reading. But as there was no regular order it was impossible to ascertain what each one had pasted up.

Sometimes exotic and religious articles appeared, but the clippings from our "Sekki" and "Rosin" always aroused the most attention.

All wanted to know about the struggle of the workers and peasants. Who are the "Red Bandits ?"* What is the situation in the Soviet Union ? This evoked great interest from all.

Since there was much fuss connected with getting permission from the regiment commander for taking out every book and, moreover, since money was demanded to acquire the book, a reading circle was set up and this facilitated the exchange of impressions and opinions.

It happens at times that some are interested in some kind of stupid book. In such cases we never failed to grant them the book to read so as to draw out the lesson or theme from the contents (although this is also difficult) and discuss it.

If, as a result of the discussions, the fellows became interested in our ideas and ask us to give them "secret originals," then we give literature commenting on Leninism : we point out appropriate clippings to them.

(3) During the autumn the sporting season begins, with a burning fever for the game of baseball.

We organised a baseball team also, but we had no sport equipment.

It is perfectly clear that if we were to ask permission to organise baseball detachments that, although baseball is a great deal more sensible than visits to a cheap cinema in Asamusa, the permission would not be granted. Therefore, without asking permission, we organised detachments and began to practise. The chief officers silently consented. But is it not impossible to forbid baseball ? We challenge the soldiers of other companies to games and become acquainted with them. After that we challenge a different regiment. The game developed more and more till the fever of the game took possession of all.

(4) In this way it proved that there was not one man in the company who was not in touch with the work of our group. Almost all came to know one another. They knew who was the son of a tenant, who a merchant, who a turner, etc. After that we knew in detail with whom to reason first so as to use him later to recruit one or another fellow ; we knew whom to promote so as afterwards to draw his fellow townsmen together ; we knew how to put one corporal out of the group and isolate him, how to use another ; and we knew against which officer in particular to direct the hatred of the superior officers, etc.

Further, in the process of work in the group, there appeared one or two men who had rendered us assistance. Afterwards we succeeded in drawing these fellows into our group and in organising about them a group of sympathisers.

* The Red Army of China is so-called by the Japanese Soldiery.

(5) The anniversary of the 18th of September just happened to fall on a Sunday. When it was learned that the soldiers were to be held in camp on that day to attend political lessons, and that non-appearance would be recorded, preparations began for a struggle, aiming to hamper the work of these classes.

The regimental staff officers, having noticed the general discontent, decided quickly to change the lessons to Saturday evening. We were taken aback but momentarily changed our tactics and in the few hours which remained were able to talk it over with the fellows about sabotage. We decided to sleep during the lessons. And so it came about that, while one part of the auditorium kept their eyes slightly open, the other slept and in this manner the majority let the lecture slip past the ears. This also annoyed the officer, and he was quickly washed out.

(6) We succeeded in convincing all that it was imperative to organise the struggle, not only for the special demands in connection with the anniversary of the 18th of September, with the holidays and the manoeuvres, but also for the every-day demands of the soldiers ; and in as much as they aspired to this, as a result of these preliminary conversations, *they decided to create a society of the friends of one-year soldiers*. Leaders were elected.

Our friendship was not based on wine and women but on our joint struggle for the demands of workers and peasants in uniforms. All were informed that in joint struggle against the officers the society of Friends battles to win various demands such as, for example, to put windows in the lavatories, to secure a larger quantity of boiling water for the laundry, to lengthen the time for washing in the bath, not to drive sick soldiers to work by force.

Various grievances are brought to light at the meetings of the society. Then, of course, all like one in solidarity, we go to the officers with the complaints. If previously these requests were presented in an unorganised manner, then at present an officially elected committee steps forth with them. Upon our return we report to the society on the results. Close contacts are established between the members of the society. *Thus our soldier's committee arose.*

Of course, the society cannot handle the complaints of all those who are aroused and discontented. Such have still remained, also, who prefer the method of individual infringement of discipline or isolated, tough escapades.

Although such kinds of discontent are also connected with our work, it is imperative to direct them into organised channels. It is necessary to make even pettiness a starting point for the society's struggle. The reasons why we have not succeeded in directing all discontent into organised channels is that we lack a strong centre, we lack a planned distribution of work (although we have also had some experience in mass work) and we lack preliminary plans. It is imperative to attract daring and active people to our circle and thus to strengthen it organically.

* * *

Revolutionary workers and peasants who live in barracks, take a lesson from the experience of these comrades !

Create soldiers' and ships' committees in all barracks and on all ships !

NOTE.

With the next issue, the "Communist International" will commence the publication of documents of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C. of the Communist International.

REVIEW OF THE "PARTY LIFE" SECTION OF THE AMERICAN "DAILY WORKER" FROM OCTOBER 22 TO NOVEMBER 2, 1933

UNTIL recently the *Daily Worker* did not deal with questions of Party construction, notwithstanding their decisive importance. Over four months have passed since the "Open Letter" which concretely raised all the basic questions of the development of the Party, and, though with great delay, namely, at the end of October, the *Daily Worker* introduced a special Party life section in which it touched on the most urgent questions for the first time. The aim of this section was to help the district organisations, the cells and all the Party members to carry out the "Open Letter" by means of a discussion and exchange of experience of work. For the period from October 22 to November 2, 1933, we have several letters and articles on a number of questions as well as comments by the editors. Among other things, the difficult question of fluctuation in the Party membership is dealt with. The cause of this fluctuation lies mainly in the poor work of the Party cells and also in the mechanical and uncouth approach to the new members. The articles say that the holding up of applications is a serious hindrance in the recruiting work of the Party. Frequently applications which are received in a district or cell are held up for a long time or not looked into at all. For example, on checking up the materials of the fourth New York section, 300 applications were found which had not been attended to by anybody. It was discovered that only six out of these 300 had been so insistent that they had got into the Party through another organisation. Some of these comrades at the present time are leading workers in the mass organisations of Harlem. It is very probable that there are many loyal and capable comrades among the other 294 whose applications were not considered for such a long time.

A worker wrote a letter on January 16 to the Party Committee of the first section of New York district asking for information on the Communist Party. Six months later, in June, a card was sent to the district with the remark that old Broadway, where this worker lives, is not in their district. Thus, after holding up its reply for 180 days, the section committee found it possible to send a formal and nonsensical reply instead of giving the information required.

During the needle trades strike an advanced negro woman worker was asked to join the Party. She handed in an application which was countersigned by a responsible Party worker, and a membership card was immediately sent to the section. The section committee, however, kept the card for three months and returned it to the district committee with the note "not called for." The district committee sent a letter to the comrade, and she immediately came. When she was asked why she had not come for the card, it turned out that she had been going to meetings in the I.L.G.W.U.* and thought that this was the organisation to which she had applied. These examples show that recruiting work, in some cases, is carried on in a formal and lax manner and is not accompanied by explanatory work. The editors of the *Daily Worker* propose a number of measures to assure the rapid acceptance and verification of new members, to reduce and put an end to fluctuations.

There is interesting material on the work of the units in the letter of the Agitprop of cell No. 809 in Chicago. This cell has existed for a year. The comrades in the cell acted rightly and brought up the "Open Letter" of the C.C. for discussion at a general meeting. As a result it was decided to draw up a plan of work for six months so as to join in the work of carrying out the "Open Letter." The plan was drawn up on the basis of the proposals of various members of the cell. Among other things the plan contained such points as for the cell to send members to help other cells where the work of the district organisation was concentrated, to draw the workers in these factories into active revolutionary work. Regarding the work among the unemployed, the plan correctly touched on the state of the unemployed councils, though it is true that it forgot the important point of the necessity of developing the struggle for relief and unemployment insurance. The plan included the question of raising the level of political education of the members, the question of the *Daily Worker*, recruiting, the distribution of literature, finance, work in the organisation of small house owners. This was the first plan in this section. Several weeks later a general meeting of the cell was called at which the head of the section Agitprop praised the plan and invited other cells to follow this good example. But the representative of the district committee, who was at the meeting, took a different view. He criticised the plan and stated that it was useless and no good. He pro-

* Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

posed his plan—to organise a Y.C.L., and a pioneer group and to strengthen collaboration in the *Daily Worker*. Of course the comrade from the district committee was not right in his sweeping criticism of the plan of the cell. It was a very good thing that the plan had been worked out by the members themselves, in connection with the discussion of the "Open Letter." Besides that, the plan contained some good points. The comrade should have pointed out what was missing in the plan and should have given helpful advice as to how the plan was to be put into effect. But he acted wrongly and discouraged the comrades. At the same time, it does not follow that the correct criticisms of the plan of this cell should not be taken into account.

On October 22 there was an article by Comrade Amter on how to improve the work of the Party among the unemployed in New York. Amter writes that in New York over 50,000 families have been taken off the relief lists, 35,000 families received their red cross parcel for the last time in September, that mass evictions are taking place, the amount of relief has been greatly cut down, etc., while the Party organisations of New York have neglected their work among the unemployed. According to Comrade Amter, this weakening of the work is due to the following causes: (1) An opportunist analysis of the situation by some Party members. Some workers *temporarily* received a rise of wages and some received *tem porary* jobs. This was sufficient for some of the comrades to decide that unemployment was declining. These comrades did not realise that after this little and illusory boom there would be another crash and that there was already taking place a rapid rise of prices which would lead to the situation growing more acute. (2) A one-sided adoption of the "Open Letter" which specially emphasised the necessity for a turn of the work of the Party to the factories and trade unions. The New York comrades understood this to mean that less work was to be done among the unemployed. It is true that they somewhat increased their attention to the work in the factories, carried on big strikes, but they not only failed to link this up with increased work among the unemployed, but, as we have said, they neglected the work of organising and leading the struggle of the unemployed. (3) The opportunist disbelief in the possibility of obtaining social insurance and unemployment insurance by the struggle of the workers, a disbelief shared by a number of comrades. Such causes hinder the work among the unemployed not only in New York.

The bureaucratic methods of work and the poor contacts of the unemployed councils with the masses are also a hindrance. There are still workers in the unemployed council who, because they were promoted by the Party committees, do not think it necessary to report on their work to the unemployed masses, although in reality it is precisely a Party member, and particularly one appointed by the Party organisation, who should be the real mass worker, the leader of the masses, closely welded to them and at the same time work among these masses under the leadership of the Party and according to its directives.

As the result of the isolation of a number of unemployed councils from the unemployed masses, the Party organisations react badly to their demands on the basis of which it would be possible to mobilise the unemployed and draw them into the class struggle. As the result of this isolation, the agitational work of the Party organisations is not connected or is badly connected with the organisation of the masses by the Party.

However, there are examples showing how much can be secured by some energetic work among the unemployed. One comrade met a longshoreman who was threatened with eviction. He went to the docks and called a meeting of longshoremen and discovered that many of them had also received notice of eviction. He returned to the first longshoreman and called a second meeting of two hundred people at his house. Delegates were elected to negotiate with the house owner—a bank in Wall Street. The delegation caused a big stir in the bank, after which it went back to prepare for the coming of the police. In this district, where Communist meetings had previously been greeted with bricks and rotten potatoes thrown by the boys from the Catholic youth club, this time a meeting was held with definite success, and contacts were even made with the youth. This was the result of the work of *one* comrade, who not only agitated, but without waiting for directives, took the initiative himself and linked up his agitation with action and the organisation of the masses.

Further, the principle of concentration of work is not applied at all among the unemployed. Work among the Negroes is at a very low level. Harlem district is one of the concentration districts. Nevertheless in spite of the desperate situation of the Negroes, very little has been done to win these masses. A great shortcoming of the Party work is that it has given no lead in the training of cadres for work among the unemployed. Among the unemployed organised by the councils, only a small number has been promoted for leading work. The blame for this again lies in the bureaucratic approach, the disbelief in the strength of the workers themselves,

the inability to promote the best workers, to teach them and help them.

We find interesting experience in trade union work in the "Party Life" section of October 28th. Eighteen welders from a big steel works left their jobs because the management refused to increase their wages. In the revolutionary T.U. group at this factory there was not a single welder and therefore there were no contacts with them before they left. Some of these welders were connected with the A.F.L. and after they left they all joined the A.F.L. Before this the revolutionary T.U. group held regular meetings, published leaflets, etc., but did not get much further. It was decided to get into contact with these welders and utilise their departure so as to rouse the fighting spirit of the workers and carry on a strike in all the shops under revolutionary leadership. The difficulty was that the workers were working three shifts. It was therefore decided to call meetings by shifts. The first meeting was called in the shift where the Trade Union group had the largest number of members. To the surprise of all the local comrades, at 1.30 midnight forty persons gathered of whom only six were members of the union. At the meeting they spoke of the case of the welders and the general situation. The Revolutionary Steel and Metal Workers' Union was held up against the A.F.L. The meeting decided to propose to the workers of all the shifts to discuss the situation in each shift so that a general meeting of all the workers could be called three days later in one of the biggest halls in the town. *Out of the forty workers at the meeting, fifteen joined the Revolutionary Union.* During the next two days meetings were held in the other shifts, the conditions were discussed and preparations made for a general meeting. In connection with this meeting and the work at this factory we should note the following: (1) The workers did not live near the factory but were scattered all over Chicago district; (2) this was the first time that a meeting had been called of the workers of *one* factory. About a hundred came to the meeting. They spoke chiefly of the Revolutionary Steel and Metal Workers' Union, its structure. Its programme of class struggle was contrasted with the policy of the A.F.L. They spoke of the victories of the workers in Pennsylvania and Buffalo. The workers were called on to fight under the leadership of the Metal Workers' Union. The A.F.L. sent two organisers to the meeting who tried to speak, but owing to the correct tactics of the comrades, the feeling of the workers was such that it was impossible for the A.F.L. representatives to say a single word. It was decided that every shift should elect a committee, and these committees should jointly draw up a programme of demands to be discussed at a general meeting, after which a specially elected committee would present these demands to the employers. With the exception of the welders who remained loyal to the A.F.L., *all the workers present joined the Metal Workers' Union.* But the welders were called on to struggle jointly with the workers from the Revolutionary Union. At the next meeting of the shift there were many more workers and *during the first week 160 joined the Revolutionary Union.* In one of the shops a 4-hour break in the work was made as a protest against one of the measures of the management. It is important that work was stopped in one of the chief shops, that this took place under the leadership of the Revolutionary Union, and that *the struggle ended in a victory for the workers whose demands were fully satisfied.* The workers became convinced of the necessity and possibility of a struggle and the ability of the union to lead them, and they became bolder. Many of them came to the secretary of the union and asked for application forms. In one week another ten workers joined the union, and the sale of the *Daily Worker* greatly increased. The determination to strike increased among the workers, and if this successful work is carried further it will be possible to develop a strike and form a very strong trade union organisation in this factory.

In the issue of October 30th, we have another example of trade union work in a steel plant. There are 26 Party members and seven Y.C.L.ers working there. Six of them are Negroes, five or six are native Americans and the rest are immigrants, mostly Finns. During the last few months good American elements have come into the union, some of them being undoubtedly ready to join the Party. The members of the union number 200, of whom over 50 per cent. pay dues. Trade union work is conducted on the basis of factory and territorial groups and every group has a trade union organiser. There are T.U. groups in many of the chief shops—rolling, open-hearth, cast iron, pipe, and other shops. The groups meet weekly. The members of the union who are not yet organised in groups and who live far away are still organised by territorial delegates who call weekly meetings, see to the supply of literature, etc. It cannot be said that all these groups function as they ought to, but they have begun to become active. Of course, we should see that the other members of the union working in the factories are organised into factory groups. By keeping close contacts with the T.U. organisers, drawing in new members and, above all, by greater responsibility being imposed on the Party

fractions, we may obtain great success in the development of trade union work in this factory.

The prestige of our union, writes the paper, is much stronger than our organisation in the factory. Some recruiting work was done in the factories, but only individual comrades took part in this and not the whole group as such. Although readiness to fight is growing in the factories, there are comrades among the Party members who are inclined to pessimism and passive waiting. They do not sufficiently quickly react to the discontent and complaints of the workers in the factories and they give poor information to the centre on important events. There is not enough political educational work carried on by the cells and the trade union fractions, owing to which the political level of the Party comrades is still often very low. To a great extent all these shortcomings are due to the fact that the cell has not received concrete guidance from the District Committee. At the same time the factory meetings have never been visited by leading Party workers from the higher Party organ.

In the issue of October 25, Comrade Browder writes on the financial accounts of the Party organisations. The financial system of the C.P.U.S.A. needs careful control and revision. The financial basis of the Party must be widened, by increasing contacts with the masses and obtaining the support of the masses. A definite system of accounting must be introduced and measures taken to assure that the money is expended according to schedule, and reports given to the members. The staff must be carefully selected from among the most reliable and tested comrades. The apparatus must be small with a strict allocation of duties. The latter is particularly important in the case of mass organisations where organisational *scatteredness* sometimes allows unreliable elements to get into the financial apparatus and discredit the movement. The method of collecting money at mass meetings must be seriously examined. Long speeches at these meetings must be avoided and a brief but clear explanation of what the money is required for must be given. Mass collections must be linked up with political work and the aim of the collections must be set out exactly. Unproductive overhead expenses must be definitely cut out. First of all the cells or units which are nearest to mass work must be supplied. Expenses on mass agitation, papers, leaflets and schools must have preference over expenses for the upkeep of the apparatus. The system of financial responsibility and accounting must be applied in the internal activity of the Party. For example, the fund for literature must be inviolable. We must not forget that this is a political matter, that serious educational work among the masses cannot be done without literature. It must be sold and paid for and the literature fund must increase. The income from the sale of the *Daily Worker* and the collections for the fund of this paper must be spent entirely on the needs of the paper. It sometimes happens that the paper continues to send copies to subscribers who have not paid for a long time. The different items of expenditure must be clearly set out and it must be decided in advance what the various sums will be spent on.

In conclusion, we may say that the appearance of the "Party Life" section in the *Daily Worker* is to be welcomed greatly, the more so that it has begun to appear every day. In future this section must be enlarged. In addition to a criticism of shortcomings it should deal with the positive experience of work in the localities. The paper must show how the carrying out of the "Open Letter" will increase the activity of the cells and the local Party organisations will establish personal contacts between the Party organisations and the higher Party organs, operative Party leadership will raise the political level of the Party workers and Party members, and how the cadres will grow as a result of this.

The paper must establish contacts between its "Party Life" section and the Party correspondents in the localities and must not only publish articles but small notes dealing with current work, the struggle and development of various cells and Party organisations, especially factory cells.

The "Party Construction Section" of the *Daily Worker* must concentrate its attention on checking daily how the Party organisations are carrying out the instructions of the "Open Letter," especially in regard to the question of concentration work in the big factories and the struggle against the Socialist Party of America and the leaders of the A.F.L.

L.

INDEX OF ARTICLES CONTAINED IN THE "COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL" JOURNAL FOR 1933

I. Articles on England, Dominions and the U.S.A.

Month & Number	No. of Articles and Size	Of which On England, the Dominions and the U.S.A.	Name of Author and Article
January—1, 2.	10 art. 204 pages.*	3 art. 75 pages.	Pollitt—XII Congress of C.P.G.B. Sinani—Gt. Britain, U.S.A. and the War in South America. Valia—Development of Communist Movement in India.
February—3-4, double-number.	6 art. 134 pages.	2 art. 30 pages.	Stalin—Mr. Campbell Exaggerates. Gussev—Which Way Out ?
March—5-6, double-number.	7 art. 156 pages.	1 art. 39 pages.	Marxism and Labourism
April—7.	6 art. 90 pages.	———	———
May—8, 9.	15 art. 194 pages.	5 art. 85 pages.	White—Struggle of British Unemployed and Some Lessons of February 5th Demonstration. Seumas MacKee—The Constituent Congress of the Irish C.P. T. Bell—Results of Elections in Irish Free State and Tasks of Irish Communists. Antonova—Marx and Engels on Ireland. Gussev—Tasks of the C.P.U.S.A. in Struggle for Social Insurance.
June—10, 11, 12, dated 22. VI.	13 art. 308 pages.	4 art. 50 pages.	Rust—The I.L.P. Changes its Line. Letter of the E.C.C.I. to the I.L.P. Pat Devine—Interventionist Campaign of the Die-hards and Proletarian Resistance in England. Valia—Constitution for the Enslavement of the Indian People and the Policy of the Indian Bourgeoisie.
July—13, 14.	12 art. 154 pages.	3 art. 39 pages.	Letter from the Comintern to the British I.L.P. Rust—Fenner Brockway Drops His Mask. Pollitt—The Anti-Soviet Policy of British Imperialism and the Protest Movement of the English Proletariat.
August—15, 16.	8 art. 180 pages.	2 art. 45 pages.	Safarov—Arthur Henderson, an Incarnation of National-Labourism. Shubin—The Bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. Put Their Stake on War.

* Page = Typed MS. Printed page = approximately one-third of this.

September—17, 18.	11 art. 186 pages.	4 art. 70 pages.	Rust—How the Leaders of the I.L.P. Sabotage the United Front. Green—Some Questions of the Work of the C.P.U.S.A. Smith—The Roosevelt Programme of Attack on the Working Class. Gometz—Revolutionary Events in Cuba and the Tasks of the C.P.
October—19, 20.	15 art. 218 pages.	10 art. 145 pages.	White—Some Features of the Development of Fascism in England. P. Dutt—Will British Trade Unions Go the German Road ? I.L.P. Letter to the Comintern. Comintern Letter to the I.L.P. Note to the Letters Published. The Agitational Work of the C.P.G.B. Rust—The London Daily Worker. Platt—The Roosevelt Programme of Industrial "Recovery." Sinani—A New Phase in the Development of Revolutionary Events in Cuba. Stanton—The Extraordinary Conference of the C.P.U.S.A.
November—21, 22.	16 art. 189 pages.	4 art. 91 pages.	Pollitt—The Year Which Has Passed Since the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and Struggle of the C.P.G.B. P. Dutt—The Economic War Policy of British Imperialism. Shields—Ireland's Fight for Independence. Review of the "Daily Worker", U.S.A.
December—23, 24.	10 art. 231 pages.	1 art. 20 pages.	B.F. In the Paradise of the Second International (New Zealand).

II. Documents.

No. 5-6. Workers of the World, Unite ! (Declaration of the E.C.C.I. on 50th anniversary of death of K. Marx.)
,, 8. Resolution on Situation in Germany.
,, 11. Letter of the E.C.C.I. to the I.L.P.
,, 13. Against Imperialist War.
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THE CONGRESS OF VICTORS, THE CONGRESS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF CLASSLESS SOCIETY

THE Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. will go down in history as the *congress of victors*. The speech made at this Congress by the great leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin, will be an unforgettable historic monument. By means of a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis he showed the magnitude of the victory and the way in which the Bolsheviks won their great victories in the environment of dying capitalism, and outlined the tasks to be carried out in future battles. Lenin put forward the theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country, taken individually, and set the Bolsheviks the task of carrying the theory into life. This caused scornful ridicule on the part of the international bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agents. In the U.S.S.R., the Trotskyists rose in arms against it, the Right opportunists attempted to bring it to naught by their policy of capitulation, but the Party of the Bolsheviks, headed by Comrade Stalin, Lenin's best disciple, who continues his work, made this idea its goal; and thanks to the brilliant leadership of Comrade Stalin this idea was elaborated still further and made a reality in a very short historical period. Ten years after the death of Lenin, Comrade Molotov had all grounds for saying at the Seventeenth Congress:

> "The success of the First Five-Year Plan was a practical demonstration to the broad masses of toilers that the building of socialism is possible in one country alone. Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has triumphed, and no matter how great the internal difficulties in the fight for its final triumph, they cannot be greater than the truly gigantic difficulties we have already overcome. That is the fundamental significance of the victory of the First Five-Year Plan."

We can only note in the briefest manner the achievements of the first five-year period reported by Comrade Stalin.

> "While industry in the principal capitalist countries shows on the average a *reduction* of 25 per cent and more in the volume of production at the end of 1933 compared with the level of 1929, the industry of the U.S.S.R. during this period *grew* more than twice its size, *i.e.*, increased more than 100 per cent. . . . As you see, the industry of England and Germany has not yet reached the pre-war level, while that of the United States and France has exceeded it by several per cent and the U.S.S.R. has increased its industrial production during this period by 290 per cent compared with the pre-war level.
>
> "This progress has not been merely a simple quantitative accumulation of strength. This progress is remarkable for the fact that it has introduced fundamental changes in the structure of the U.S.S.R. and has radically changed the face of the country.
>
> "How was it possible for these colossal changes to have taken place in a matter of three or four years in the territory of an enormous state with a backward technique and a backward culture? Was it not a miracle? It would have been a miracle had this development proceeded on the basis of capitalism and individual small economy. But it cannot be described as a miracle if we bear in mind that this development proceeded on the basis of expanding socialist construction."

When the N.E.P. was introduced, Lenin said that in the Soviet Union there were the elements of five social-economic systems. Now there are only two of these systems left; moreover, the system of small commodity production has been forced into the background and "the socialist system now has unchallenged predominance and is the sole commanding force in the whole of national economy. Such is the summary." Speaking of the rapid growth of industry during this period, Comrade Stalin stressed the fact that

> ". . . of all the successes achieved by industry in the period under review, the most important is the fact that it has succeeded in this period in training and forging thousands of new men and women, of new leaders of industry, of a whole stratum of new engineers and technicians, of hundreds and thousands of young skilled workers who have mastered the new technique and who have advanced our socialist industry."

These words of Comrade Stalin are the reply which life itself gives to the stupid "wisdom" of the Kautskys, who foretold the inevitable bankruptcy of the Five-Year Plan because, they claimed, the Bolsheviks would never be able to use the 'imported' highly developed technique" without first, through the effort of many decades, preparing a sufficient number of skilled workers.

In speaking of the progress in agriculture, Comrade Stalin pointed to the enormous difficulties connected with the reorganization of agriculture, with the uniting of scattered small peasant farms into collective farms and with the creation on almost vacant spaces of a large number of big grain and cattle raising farms. These difficulties were such that "the years in which the reorganization of agriculture was at its height, *viz.*, 1931 and 1932, were the years in

which the yield of grain crops diminished most." Thus:

> "The period under review was not so much a period of the rapid rise and powerful upswing of agriculture as a period of creating the prerequisites for this rise and upswing in the near future."

But *this difficult period of the reorganization of agriculture is already over.* Whereas in 1913 the total grain produce amounted to 801,000,000 centners, in 1930, a year of excellent harvest, it rose to 835,000,000 centners, and then, in the period of reorganization, dropped to 694,800,000 centners, in 1933 the total grain produce rose to an unprecedented figure—898,000,000 centners. The produce of industrial crops—cotton, flax, and oil-seeds—showed the same tendency. That means, that

> ". . . 1933, the first year after the completion of the reorganization period, marks a turning point in the development of grain and industrial crops.
>
> "That shows that, from now onwards, grain crops first and then industrial crops will finally and surely advance with giant strides."

These words of Stalin were fully corroborated by the numerous facts and figures cited by almost all the delegates, including the Ukrainian, from those localities where there was a great breach in the plan.

The change, the final change, which has taken place in the total produce of the grain and industrial crops, can be explained only by the fact that the reconstruction of agriculture has been accomplished and the socialist system of agriculture has won the day. Now,

> "The Soviet farms and collective farms together cultivate 84.5 per cent of the total grain area in the U.S.S.R.
>
> "If to this we add the fact that in 1933 the collective farms delivered to the state more than 1,000,000,000 poods of grain in various ways, while the individual peasants who fulfilled the plan 100 per cent delivered only 130,000,000 poods, whereas in 1929-30 the individual peasant delivered to the state about 780,000,000 poods while the collective farms delivered not more than 120,000,000 poods—it will become as clear as clear can be that during the period under review the collective farms and individual peasants have exchanged roles. . . ."

Hence it follows that

> ". . . the toiling peasantry, our Soviet peasantry, has completely and irrevocably come under the red flag of socialism."

From this again follows the more general conclusion that,

> ". . . we have already built the foundations of socialist society in the U.S.S.R. and all we have to do now is to erect the edifice—a task which undoubtedly is much easier than building the foundations of socialist society."

These results decisively disprove the opportunist theory of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists that it is impossible to build socialism in a single country. But these results were not easy to achieve. Their achievement required an enormous exertion of the strength of the Party and of the working class and was possible in such a short period only thanks to the brilliant leadership of Comrade Stalin. Comrade Kirov was perfectly right when he said at the Congress:

> "The socialist transformation of petty-bourgeois peasant economy was the hardest and most complex problem facing the proletarian dictatorship in its struggle for a new socialist society. . . . This most important question of the proletarian revolution has now been solved finally and unalterably in favor of socialism.
>
> "This historic victory over the exploiters, says Comrade Stalin, could not but lead to a radical improvement in the material and general conditions of life of the toilers. . . . The income which the exploiters squeezed out of the labor of the people now remains in the hands of the toilers. . . . Unemployment, that scourge of the working class, has disappeared. . . . With the disappearance of kulak bondage, poverty in the rural districts has disappeared. . . . The very appearance of our large towns and industrial centers has changed. . . .
>
> "The appearance of our villages has changed even more. The old village, with its church in the most prominent place in the village, with the best houses for the policeman, the priest, and the kulak in the foreground and with the semi-dilapidated huts of the peasants in the background, is beginning to disappear. Its place is being taken by the new village with its public buildings, its club, radio, cinema, schools, libraries, creches, with its tractors, combines, threshing machines and automobiles. . . .
>
> "The antithesis between town and country is disappearing. The peasants are ceasing to regard the town as the center of their exploitation. The ties of the economic and cultural bond between town and country are becoming stronger.
>
> "Such are the main achievements of the toilers in the sphere of improving their material conditions, their everyday life and culture."

We shall not quote the figures given by Comrade Stalin in his report, which speak of the increase in national income, the growth in population, the increase in the number of workers and employees, the increase in the wage fund and the average annual wage, the assistance rendered by the state to the peasants in the form of agricultural machines, credit,

seed and food-loans, partial exemptions from taxation, etc., nor shall we speak of the growth of the cultural development of the Land of the Soviets, the growth of literacy, as well as of the number of the students and schools, of scientific research institutes, clubs, cinemas, theaters, the growth in the circulation of newspapers, etc. Now shall we speak of the very great achievements which have been reached in the matter of the workers' supplies, of the growth of Soviet trade, of the great development of the auxiliary farms, of Workers' Supply Departments, of the great development of the communal feeding system, and so on, all of which were treated in detail at the Congress by Comrade Mikoyan. We shall only point out two parallels. One of them Comrade Stalin drew in his report:

> "It would not be amiss to point out that the number of workers among the students in our higher educational establishments represents 51.4 per cent of the total, and that of toiling peasants 16.5 per cent, whereas in Germany, for example, the number of workers among the students in higher educational establishments in 1932-33 was only 3.2 per cent, and that of small peasants only 2.4 per cent."

The other parallel was drawn by Comrade Molotov in his report:

> "During the period 1928-32 the national income of Great Britain fell by 16.9 per cent, the national income of Germany fell 38.6 per cent and the national income of the U.S.A. fell by 56.4 per cent. As the table shows, the greatest drop in national income took place in the richest of capitalist countries—the U.S.A. Only in the Soviet Union did the national income rise (82 per cent)."

* * * * *

The world historic victories of the first Five-Year Plan predetermined the great plan of the second Five-Year Plan, on which Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev reported at the Congress.

The second Five-Year Plan adopted by the Congress, said Comrade Molotov, sets three closely connected principal tasks.

"The first, and at the same time the principal political task," is,

> ". . . the final liquidation of capitalist elements and of classes in general, the complete destruction of the causes which give rise to class distinctions and exploitation, and the destruction of the survivals of capitalism in economy and in the minds of men, the transformation of the whole toiling population into conscious and active builders of classless socialist society." (Seventeenth Party Conference.)

By the end of the second five-year period the socialist form will occupy a monopolist position in all branches of economy. Of the five social-economic systems of which Lenin spoke at the beginning of the N.E.P. and of the two which still exist at present, only one will remain by the end of the second five-year period—the socialist system, and the national income of the U.S.S.R. will be wholly and entirely at the disposal of the toilers. Thus the U.S.S.R., after carrying out the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan, will become a monolithic Socialist Republic.

The *second task* of the second Five-Year Plan is to *raise the toilers' level of consumption by from* 2.5 *to* 3 *times.* This requires, first of all, that the light and food industries should be provided with raw materials and calls for a *doubling,* at the least, of the marketable produce of the agriculture of the country. Secondly, this requires a considerable increase in the capacity of the light and food industries, and a *trebling* of the output of these branches of industry. "*That is the most important part of the program of the second Five-Year Plan*" (Molotov). "But the task of bringing about the rapid progress of agriculture and the expansion of the light and food industries, and also that of a radical improvement in transport, brings us to the question of the technical reconstruction of the national economy."

The completion of the technical reconstruction of the national economy is the third task, which has been set as "the principal and decisive economic task of the second Five-Year plan."

Owing to the completion of the reconstruction of industry, the production of means of production will increase from 23,100,000,000 in 1932 to 45,500,000,000 in 1937, *i.e.,* by 97.2 per cent, while the production of articles of consumption will increase from 20,200,000,000 to 47,200,000,000, *i.e.,* 133.6 per cent. The total output of the entire industry will exceed the pre-war level approximately eight times.

The result of this growth of industry and in the first place of machine building will be a great change in the relative importance of the industry of the U.S.S.R. in world industry. On the eve of the first Five-Year Plan the U.S.S.R. occupied fifth place among the states of the world. On the eve of the second Five-Year Plan it occupied third place in the world and second in Europe. By the end of the second Five-Year Plan the production of the U.S.S.R. will take second place in the world and first in Europe. Thus, the task of "catching up and surpassing" the capitalist countries in the technical-economic respect is being carried into life. "All this is bringing considerable changes into the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world and raises the struggle between the two social systems to a higher level."

During the first Five-Year Plan enormous wealth has been discovered in the bowels of the earth, which in Czarist Russia was left undeveloped.

The second Five-Year Plan sets itself the task of creating new industrialization bases, *particularly in the eastern districts of the Soviet Union*—the Urals, East and West Siberia, Bashkiria, the Far Eastern Region, Kazakstan, Central Asia. *About half of all the capital investment in new heavy industry plants will go to these eastern districts of the Soviet Union.* Thus the difference between the advanced and the backward districts, between the European and the Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union, will diminish more and more. At the same time, as pointed out by Comrade Stalin, the division of regions into industrial and agrarian—consuming and producing, as they are called—will lose in importance, for serious steps will be and are already being taken in order to develop agriculture even in the most northern regions, on the one hand, and industry in agrarian regions, on the other. All this economic policy is the direct opposite of the policy of capitalist countries, which aims at perpetuating the backwardness of the agrarian countries in order to exploit them as colonies.

As is mentioned above, the most important part of the program of the second Five-Year Plan is the raising of the level of consumption of the toilers by from 2.5 to 3 times the present, the radical improvement in the material conditions of the toilers. For this purpose the increase in the production of articles of consumption in the second Five-Year Plan is planned at the rate of 18.5 per cent, which is considerably higher than the rate of increase in the production of means of production (14.5 per cent). This rate is also higher than the rate of increase in the production of articles of general consumption during the period of the first Five-Year Plan—17 per cent. The production of articles of general consumption in the light and food industry will grow by two and half times. "In the level of its technical equipment, the light industry of the Soviet Union will take one of the first places in the world by the end of the second five-year period."

For the same purpose of radically improving the material conditions of the toilers, the second Five-Year Plan sets the aim of largely increasing the yield of agriculture by over 40 per cent in grain crops, by 60 per cent or more in cotton, flax and sugar beets, and by over 50 per cent in oil seed. As for livestock, the number of horses, sheep and goats will be less than in 1916, but that of large horned cattle will be considerably greater and that of pigs more than double the number in 1916. On the basis of all these measures *real* wages are to increase in the course of the five-year period 2.5 times as compared with those of 1932; this will be effected mainly by a drop of 35-40 per cent in prices.

Such are the great perspectives of the second Five-Year Plan, the feasibility of which is based on the strength of the C.P.S.U., on its revolutionary theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, on its Leninist strategy and tactics, on its ability to put its political line into practice, on its irreconcilability towards all opportunist deviations, on its close connections with the millions of workers and toiling peasants who give it their boundless support, on its tried leadership headed by the great strategist, a man of undaunted revolutionary energy, Comrade Stalin. The fact that the Party which drew up this plan had splendidly fulfilled the first Five-Year Plan assures the fulfillment of the second Five-Year Plan.

At the Congress during the debate on the second Five-Year Plan, Comrade Orjonikidze made a proposal with which, as he said, the other members of the Political Bureau had concurred, namely, that the annual increase in the output of industry during the second five-year period should be fixed not at 18.9 per cent, but at 16.5 per cent. Comrade Molotov, in giving the reasons for this slight reduction, pointed out the following three facts: In the first place, this slightly reduced tempo is so great that "no capitalist country can even dream of it", secondly, at the January Plenum of the Central Committee Comrade Stalin advocated a still more cautious annual rate of increase in output—a minimum of 13-14 per cent; thirdly, and this point Comrade Molotov particularly stressed,

> ". . . it is partly a question of matters and conditions over which we have no control. When finally adopting the program of the Second Five-Year Plan, we must take account of both the internal and the external situation. In this connection we must give serious attention to the suggestion made at this Congress to show a certain cautiousness in setting the tasks of the new Five-Year Plan. . . . This is necessary because the tasks we undertake at the Seventeenth Congress of the Party must *under all circumstances be carried out.* That is the main thing. At the Seventeenth Congress of the Party, we must adopt decisions which the Party, the working class, the toilers of the Soviet Union will carry out *irrespective of any complications in the situation,* which we shall carry out fully, as befits Bolsheviks. That is the task."

These words show the full power and great self-confidence of the Party of the Bolsheviks. To allow for possible international complications this Party takes off 2 per cent out of the 18 per cent growth planned! This shows the madness of the imperialist governments who indulge in hopes of disrupting socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. by means of military adventures.

* * * * *

The Seventeenth Congress was a congress of victors. Precisely for this reason it was the Congress at which the monolithic and solid unity of the Party was demonstrated as it had never been before. At

this Congress Comrade Stalin was justified in saying with pride:

> "At the Fifteenth Party Congress it was still necessary to prove that the Party line was right, and to wage a struggle against certain anti-Leninist groups; and at the Sixteenth Party Congress the last adherents of these groups had to be despatched. At this Congress, however, there is nothing to prove and perhaps no one to beat. Everyone now sees that the line of the Party has conquered. . . . It must be admitted that the Party today is united as it has never been before." (*Loud prolonged applause.*)

The great victories of the Bolsheviks not only united the Party more than ever. They also more than ever united the entire working class of the Soviet Union and the millions and millions of collective farm peasantry around the Party and its leader Comrade Stalin, the organizer and living embodiment of the great Bolshevik victories. These victories and this enthusiasm of the people could not but have its effect upon the former leaders of the opposition. All these former leaders spoke at the Congress, one after another, confessing their sins before the Party and trying to atone for them. At the beginning there were Comrades Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky, then Comrade Preobrazhensky, towards the end of the Congress Comrades Zinoviev, Kamenev and Radek. After the Congress Sosnovsky. What was the reaction of the Congress to the utterances of the former opposition leaders? It reacted to these speeches in a very quiet and cautious manner.

* * * * *

The Seventeenth Congress was not only a congress of victors, not only a congress which demonstrated the unprecedented unity of the Party, but also *a congress of the most decided self-criticism,* which armed the Party for the new battles which lie before it.

Already in the first part of his report, which gave a characterization of the international situation, Comrade Stalin gave examples of a sober revolutionary estimate of the situation based on the application of profound Marxist-Leninist dialectics.

Speaking of a certain economic revival which set in in 1933, the fifth year of the economic crisis, Comrade Stalin went on to say:

> "Some people are inclined to ascribe this phenomenon to the influence of exclusively artificial factors, such as a war-inflation boom. There cannot be any doubt that the war-inflation boom plays a not unimportant role here. It is particularly true in regard to Japan. . . . But it would be a crude mistake to attempt to explain everything by the war-inflation boom. . . . Apparently, side by side with the war-inflation boom the operation of the internal economic forces of capital also has effect here.
>
> "Capitalism has succeeded in somewhat easing the position of industry *at the expense of the workers . . . at the expense of the farmers . . . at the expense of the peasants in the colonies and in the economically weak countries.* . . . Does this mean that we are witnessing a transition from a crisis to ordinary depression which brings in its train a new boom and flourishing industry? No, it does not mean that. At all events at the present time there are no data, direct or indirect, that indicate the approach of an industrial boom in capitalist countries. More than that, judging by all things, there cannot be such data, at least in the near future. . . . I have in mind the continuing *general* crisis of capitalism in the midst of which the *economic* crisis is proceeding, the chronic working of the enterprises under capacity, the chronic mass unemployment, the interweaving of the industrial crisis with the agricultural crisis, the absence of tendencies towards any serious renewal of a boom, etc., etc.
>
> "Apparently, what we are witnessing is the transition from the lowest point of decline of industry, from the lowest depth of the industrial crisis, to a depression, not an ordinary depression, but to a depression of a special kind which does not lead to a new boom and flourishing industry, but which, on the other hand, does not force it back to the lowest point of decline."

This brilliant Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present phase of the economic crisis is of the greatest importance. While confirming that capitalism is in a state of decline, that the *general* crisis of capitalism is continuing and deepening, that a revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature, Comrade Stalin's analysis at the same time warns the Party not to adopt the fatalist view that the revolutionary crisis will grow automatically out of the further deepening of the *economic crisis.* The great significance of Comrade Stalin's formulation has already found confirmation in events which took place after the Congress, namely, the revolutionary mass movement and the general strike in France, precisely in the country where the economic crisis set in later than in Germany, the U.S.A., and other countries, and did not reach such a depth as in these countries; and where the revival of 1933 was obviously not of an inflationist nature.

If our French comrades had fallen into the crude error of which Comrade Stalin warned them, if they had cherished the conviction that the economic crisis in France must fatalistically deepen *more and more,* before it will lead to a revolutionary crisis, the present events would have taken them entirely unawares. Some comrades did think so, but they very quickly altered their opinion, and thus our Party in the main took up a correct position in France and

proved to be among the front ranks of the proletarian masses who were fighting in the streets.

In speaking of the sharpening of the political situation in the capitalist countries in consequence of the prolonged economic crisis, and in particular of the maturing in the minds of the masses of the idea . storming the citadel of capitalism, Comrade Stalin gave a significant formulation which can and must rouse a number of our comrades to self-criticism. He said:

> "In this connection the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by social-democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy."

It has often been said among us that the growth of fascism in Germany is a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, which seeks salvation from the maturing revolutionary crisis in terrorist methods and in a war policy. That the victory of fascism in Germany resulted from the betrayal of the working class by social-democracy has also been said more than once, but Comrade Stalin pointed out one more cause of the victory of fascism in Germany, namely, "the weakness of the working class". Now what was the expression of this weakness? It was the split in the ranks of the working class owing to the treachery of social-democracy. However, it was not only that. The weakness also expressed itself in the fact that our Party, the vanguard of the working class, was behindhand. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. spoke about this backwardness of our Party which consisted in its inability to establish close connections with the broad masses by working in the enterprises and in the reformist unions and by organizing partial struggles so that in the main the influence of treacherous social-democracy should have been destroyed even before the fascists took the decisive offensive. Thus the critical remark of Comrade Stalin mobilizes our Parties for the realization of their most important immediate task—the fight for the winning of the masses.

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The Seventeenth Congress did not rest content with the great victories of the Party and developed extensive self-criticism with perfectly concrete practical conclusions, in order to ensure new victories in the future. Comrade Stalin raised the question of self-criticism to a great height of principle, by connecting it with the problems of *ideological-political leadership*. Comrade Stalin pointed out that:

> ". . . the weak ideological work of the Party organs and the fact that our Party workers are overburdened with purely practical work, which deprives them of the opportunity of augmenting their theoretical knowledge," which leads to "the confusion on a number of problems of Leninism that exists in the minds of individual members of the Party, which not infrequently penetrates our press, and which helps to revive the survivals of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups."

In connection with this, at the end of the report, after the first conclusion ("we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by the successes achieved, and must not get swell-headed") Comrade Stalin drew the second conclusion: *"to remain loyal to the end to the great banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin."* In their speeches all the delegates to the Congress added to these mighty three a fourth—"Stalin!" The Seventeenth Congress took place under the slogan "to remain loyal to the end to the great banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin!"

In his report Comrade Stalin pointed out a number of mistakes committed by some comrades in problems of Leninism, which, as usual, are of great practical significance and which show that, although the anti-Leninist groupings have now been defeated and that now there is "perhaps no one to beat", "remnants of their ideologies still live in the minds of individual members of the Party, and not infrequently they find expression," and that the existence of the survivals of capitalism in economy and in the minds of men "cannot but create a favorable soil for the revival of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups in the minds of individual members of our Party".

For instance, Comrade Stalin pointed out that certain comrades have, from the fact that the Party sets itself the task of building classless socialist society during the second five-year period, drawn the entirely anti-Leninist conclusion that we can even now weaken the class struggle, relax the dictatorship of the proletariat and generally do away with the state, which in any case will wither away shortly; they fail to understand that the building of classless society presupposes as an indispensable prerequisite the strengthening of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the sharpening of the class struggle. We may note, incidentally, that this anti-Leninist theory at one time found a reflection, among some members of the Party, in the "leftist" theory that in connection with the victory of complete collectivization the soviets already become superfluous in the countryside, and all the functions of the soviets in the countryside can be transferred to the collective farms.

Comrade Stalin further noted the confusion existing in the question of the agricultural *artel* and the agricultural *commune*. The artel, he said, as the Party now recognizes, is the only correct form of the

collective farm movement, for it correctly combines the personal everyday interests of the collective farmers with their social public interests and successfully adapts the personal interests to the public interests, facilitating the education of the individual peasants of yesterday in the spirit of collectivism; whereas in the commune the personal interests of the members were not so much *combined* with the public interests as *suppressed* by them in the pursuit of petty bourgeois equalitarianism. This explains why the communes never became widespread. It also explains why the communes were gradually obliged to abandon the system of socialized everyday life, that they are beginning to work on the workday system, etc., that is, they have in fact turned into artels. This does not mean, says Comrade Stalin, that the commune is generally unnecessary, that it is no longer a higher form of the collective farm movement. It only means that the present agricultural commune, which grew up on a basis of poorly developed technique and of a shortage of products and therefore practices equalitarianism is not needed. In the future the commune will be a necessary and living phenomenon, inasmuch as it will grow out of the well-developed, well-to-do artel. This is what some comrades fail to understand, and they allow the idea of the commune to run away with them now, on the grounds that in it there is greater "equality". This comes, says Comrade Stalin, from a failure to understand Leninism, to understand that "equality in the sphere of requirements and personal life is a piece of reactionary petty-bourgeois stupidity worthy of a primitive sect of ascetics, but not of socialist society organized on Marxian lines". "By equality Marxism means, not equality in personal requirements and personal life, but the abolition of classes." Incidentally, these mistakes had a very practical significance. In East Siberia, for example, comrades tried to implant communes even among the nomads, which led, of course, to the extermination of livestock.

Lack of clarity in questions of equality in the minds of some comrades led to the confusion of Stalin's slogan "make every collective farmer well-to-do" with Comrade Bukharin's long rejected opportunist slogan "enrich yourselves." This confusion arose from the failure to understand that the slogan "enrich yourselves" was at its time a slogan which stimulated the growth of kulaks and exploitation, whereas the slogan "make every collective farmer well-to-do", which has been issued now, in the conditions of the abolition of private property in means of production and the liquidation of the kulak as a class, and in connection with the slogan "make all collective farms Bolshevik farms", is, on the contrary, a stimulus to the intensification and consolidation of collectivization. The same confusion gave rise in the minds of some people to the downright stupid idea that Bolshevik work is impossible without the existence of the poor, on the ground that the Bolsheviks at one time put forward the slogan of relying on the poor. This stupidity, says Comrade Stalin, arises from the failure to understand that it was possible and necessary to rely on the poor peasants when there were capitalist elements in the village, and that, on the contrary, after the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the task is not to perpetuate the poor, but to raise them to the level of a well-to-do life.

Of particularly great importance were Comrade Stalin's remarks at the Congress on the national question. Some comrades supposed that of the two deviations—Great Russian nationalism and local nationalism—the first is the principal danger "for all times and conditions". This mistaken idea fostered the development of the deviations towards local nationalism among individual members of our Party in the national republics, and first of all in the Ukraine. These comrades, said Comrade Stalin, do not understand that the source of both deviations is the same.

> "This source is *departure* from Leninist internationalism. If you want to keep both these deviations under fire, then aim primarily against this source, against those who depart from internationalism—irrespective of whether the deviation is towards local nationalism, or towards Great Russian nationalism." (*Loud applause.*)

As for the controversy about the question as to which deviation represents the major danger at present,

> ". . . under present conditions this is a formal and therefore a purposeless controversy. The major danger is the deviation against which we have ceased to fight and thereby enabled it to grow into a danger to the state. (*Loud applause*). . . . The same thing must be said about the *Right* and *'Left' deviation* in the sphere of general policy. Here, too, as in other spheres, there is no little confusion in the minds of certain members of the Party. Sometimes while fighting against the Right deviation they take their hands away from the 'Left' deviation and relax the fight against it on the assumption that it is not dangerous, or only slightly dangerous. This is a very serious and dangerous mistake. This is a concession to the 'Left' deviation, which is impermissible for a member of the Party. It is all the more impermissible for the reason that recently the 'Lefts' have completely slipped to the positions of the Rights, so that there is no longer any essential difference between them."

What Comrade Stalin said at the Congress on mistakes in the national question is a most important *generalized* conclusion drawn from the stubborn struggle which the Central Committee of the Party

has waged during the past year against nationalist deviations in Ukraine (Skrypnikism) and in other national republics; a struggle which was described in detail at the Congress by Comrades Postyshev, Kossior, Petrovsky and others, and which was a necessary prerequisite for the change in the countryside which the Party effected in 1933. A number of telling facts illustrating this change in the Ukraine were cited at the Congress by Comrades Postyshev and Schlichter.

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Comrade Stalin said at the Congress:

> "After the correct political line has been given the organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, *i.e.*, its success or failure."

In connection with the program of the second five-year period, and in order to assure its victory organizationally, a special report by Comrade Kaganovich on organizational questions was put on the agenda of the Seventeenth Congress, and theses were adopted on this report concerning organizational measures in the sphere of Party construction, organizational measures in the sphere of Soviet construction, and organizational measures in the sphere of Party and Soviet control; at the same time a revised version of the rules of the C.P.S.U. was adopted and endorsed. The principles underlying these theses on organizational questions were stated by Comrade Stalin, in his classically clear and concise style, in the report on the work of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. They were elaborated in detail in the well grounded report of Comrade Kaganovich, which was illustrated by a wealth of material from the life of the Party and of the Soviet institutions. The report of Comrade Kaganovich revealed the real Bolshevik organizer who plunges into the very thick of life, lets no detail escape his attention, and at the same time does not get lost in the details and does not for a moment fail to see the wood for the trees. Comrade Kaganovich's report was a most vivid example of real concrete Bolshevik leadership.

Already at the Sixteenth Congress Comrade Stalin pointed out the necessity

> ". . . to organize the reconstruction of all the practical work of the trade union, cooperative, Soviet and all other organizations in accordance with the requirements of the period of reconstruction."

This reorganization was carried on in sections by the Central Committee between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Congresses. During this period the Central Committe adopted a whole number of measures, each of which formed the answer, as it were, to one shortcoming or another discovered in the work of the Party or of the Soviet institutions.

The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. summed up the victories achieved by the Party in the sphere of socialist construction and pointed out the shortcomings which must be remedied. The Seventeenth Congress adopted the plan for the second five-year period and outlined the organizational measures necessary for the successful fulfillment of this great plan. All the work of the Seventeenth Congress was centered around the questions of the great socialist construction, the triumphant realization of which has been assured. But the U.S.S.R. is surrounded by hostile capitalist countries, and from the time when the C.P.S.U. began the socialist reconstruction of the whole economy and the broad socialist offensive on the capitalist elements, the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union became direct; it grew greater each year, and now it hangs over the Land of the Soviets. In view of this fact, during the period between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Congresses the Central Committee of the Party and its leader Comrade Stalin devoted a great deal of attention in the first place to the strengthening of the defense of the U.S.S.R. Comrade Voroshilov reported to the Congress on the achievements of the Party and the Soviet government in this sphere. He said:

> "During the period between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Congresses tremendous work has been done to radically reconstruct the Red Army. During this period the army has been completely reborn; it has become, one may say, a fundamentally different army in regard to quality and quantity of arms, organizational structure and the fighting preparedness of its cadres. Today the Red Army can justly pride itself on its armaments and on its technical equipment."

We shall not dwell here on the technical equipment of the Red Army of which Comrade Voroshilov spoke in his report to the Congress. We shall only quote one section of his report, which characterized the changed face of the Red Army:

> "In 1929 the average mechanized horsepower in the Red Army per one Red Army man was 2.6; In 1930—3.07; and in 1933—7.74. This figure is considerably higher than in the French and American armies, higher even than in the British army, which is very highly mechanized. Hence it is clear, comrades, with what mighty mechanization our army has been provided."

The Red Army scored successes as great in the matter of learning to use its armaments, as Comrade Voroshilov illustrated with telling tables.

Of particular interest is the information Comrade Voroshilov gave of *the change in the social composition* of the Red Army during the period under review:

"On January 1, 1930, the percentage of workers in the Red Army was 31.2, while on January 1, 1934, it was already 45.8.

"In addition to this, the collectivization of agriculture has led to a qualitative change in the type of Red Army peasant. At the present time more than three-quarters of the peasants serving in the Red Army are already collective farmers. . . . Thus the working class and the collective farm peasantry now constitute the overwhelming majority of the personnel of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army."

As for the *Party membership* of the Red Army, it has also grown very considerably during the last three and a half years. The Party and Y.C.L. membership of the Red Army as a whole amounts to almost 50 per cent of the total number of men. Of the ideological level of Party members in the Red Army, Comrade Voroshilov stated the following significant fact:

"The results of the Party purging which has been and is going on in our army are as follows: expelled from the Party—4.3 per cent; transferred to the status of candidates and sympathizers—2.4 per cent; whereas the percentage of those expelled from civil Party organizations was 17 per cent, and of those transferred to the status of candidates and sympathizers—6.3 per cent. The difference, as you see, is considerable."

Comrade Voroshilov concluded his speech with the following words, amid the loud applause of the Congress:

"Having such a mighty Party, such a splendid and well-organized working class as ours, is, having such a wonderful ally as our collective farm peasantry was and has now more than ever become, having such a well-tried, wise and supremely great leader as our Stalin, we can face the future unafraid."

The U.S.S.R., said Comrade Stalin, relying on its growing economic and political might, on the moral support of millions of the working class in every country, on the common sense of those countries which for this or that motive are not interested in disturbing the peace, and, finally, on its glorious Red Army, did and does pursue a policy of preserving the peace. And in this policy, as is well known, the U.S.S.R. has also had great achievements. But peace depends not only on the U.S.S.R., and, as a consequence of the protracted economic crisis, which has caused an unprecedented sharpening of the political situation of all capitalist countries, "things are", as Comrade Stalin said, "quite clearly moving towards a new war". Can a war form a way out of the crisis for the bourgeoisie? Comrade Stalin replies to this question in his report:

"Of course there are no grounds for assuming that the war can provide a real way out. On the contrary, it must confuse the situation still more. More than that, it will certainly unleash revolution and put in question the very existence of capitalism in a number of countries, as was the case in the course of the first imperialist war. And if, notwithstanding the experience of the first imperialist war, the bourgeois politicians clutch at war as a drowning man clutches at a straw, it shows that they have become utterly confused, have reached an impasse, and are ready to rush headlong over the precipice."

As for the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin said, briefly and clearly, amid the loud applause of the Congress:

"We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer blow for blow against the instigators of war. Those who want peace and are striving for business intercourse with us will always receive our support. And those who try to attack our country—will receive a stunning rebuff to teach them not to poke their pig's snout into our Soviet garden again.

"Such is our foreign policy." (*Loud applause.*)

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At the end of his speech Comrade Stalin said:

"The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world proletariat, its vanguard; and our republic is the offspring of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that if it had not been supported by the working class in the capitalist countries it would not have been able to retain power, it would not have secured for itself the conditions for socialist construction and, hence, it would not have achieved the successes that it did achieve. International ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of the capitalist countries, the fraternal alliance between the workers of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of all countries—this is one of the cornerstones of the strength and might of the Republic of Soviets. . . . It means that we must prove worthy of the honorable title of the shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries. . . . Hence, the third conclusion: *to remain loyal to the end to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians of all countries.* (*Applause.*) Such are the conclusions."

Comrade Stalin spoke of the great victories of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. as of the victories of the shock brigade of the world proletariat. What estimate did he give of the perspective of the victory of the world proletarian revolution? On this question Comrade Stalin spoke as follows:

"The masses of the people have not yet reached the stage when they are ready to storm the citadel

of capitalism, but the idea of storming it is maturing in the minds of the masses—there can hardly be any doubt about that. This is eloquently testified to by such facts as, say, the Spanish revolution which overthrow the fascist regime, and the expansion of the Soviet regions in China which the united counter-revolution of the Chinese and foreign bourgeoisie is unable to stop."

Speaking of the war plans of the muddled bourgeois politicians who "are not distinguished either for their brilliance or valor", he went on to say:

"But if the bourgeoisie chooses the path of war, then the working class in the capitalist countries who have been reduced to despair by four years of crisis and unemployment takes the path of revolution. That means that a revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature. And the more the bourgeoisie becomes entangled in its war combinations, the more frequently it resorts to terroristic methods in the struggle against the working class and the toiling peasantry, the sooner will the revolutionary crisis mature.

"Some comrades think that as soon as a revolutionary crisis occurs the bourgeoisie must drop into a hopeless position, that its end is predetermined, that the victory of the revolution is assured, and that all they have to do is to wait for the bourgeoisie to fall, and to draw up victorious resolutions. This is a profound mistake. The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory."

These words of Comrade Stalin sounded like a call to the brother Communist Parties of capitalist countries to follow the example of the C.P.S.U. in order to forge themselves into another such mighty weapon of the victorious revolution.

The report on the work of the C.P.S.U. in the E.C.C.I. was made at the Congress by Comrade Manuilsky. This circumstantial report, which was based on the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., combined revolutionary optimism with Bolshevik self-criticism and synchronized fully with the report made by Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Manuilsky unrolled the picture of the general, though uneven, revolutionary upsurge throughout the capitalist world. He said that

". . . during the five years of the world economic crisis the capitalist system has gone to pieces to such an extent that the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis are already ripe in the weakest links of the capitalist system, in the colonies and dependent countries; are almost ripe in Central Europe, and are maturing in the capitalist countries occupying the commanding positions."

He pointed out that "the three and a half years which have passed since the Sixteenth Congress have also been characterized by ferment in the armies, which in some places took the form of open mutiny." He emphasized particularly the significance of the revolution in China:

"The breaking of the chain in this link shakes the whole world system of imperialism. This breaking began with the formation of Soviet China, whose strength is growing and being consolidated each day. Soviet China is what tomorrow will bring in the colonies and dependent countries crushed by imperialism."

He treated in detail the revolutionary perspective in Germany:

"With the transition to fascist dictatorship the crisis of the power of the bourgeoisie does not disappear; it becomes intensified. . . . The bourgeois dictatorship, by dismissing social-democracy, is narrowing its mass base and rolling further into the precipice, like Russian Czarism when it rejected the support of the Liberals and Constitutional-Democrats. . . . The German fascists wanted to kill by bloodletting the desire of the German proletariat for revolutionary violence, but they have undermined the social-democratic workers' democratic illusions and the prestige of bourgeois lawfulness, and are making the German proletariat a supporter of armed uprising against bourgeois dictatorship."

Comrade Manuilsky pointed out that "in almost all capitalist countries a national crisis of the upper circles is to be observed in one form or another," that in some cases this has so far led to the establishment of fascist dictatorship, which "forms the halfway stop in the further maturing of the revolutionary crisis," that in a number of capitalist countries "the internal fight in the camp of the bourgeoisie, accompanied by the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy, is growing into a general national crisis, *i.e.*, into a crisis in which the accumulated discontent of the masses does not follow the channel of fascism, but turns against the very system of capitalism." Comrade Manuilsky pointed out that: "by driving the discontent of the masses under the surface by terrorist measures, the bourgeoisie creates the conditions for explosion of great force, which can accelerate every minute the tempo of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis. "This 'unexpectedness' and 'suddenness' of revolutionary explosions is a particularly characteristic feature of the present situation." Comrade Manuilsky's words were brilliantly confirmed by the first big battle which the French proletariat gave to the attacking fascists in France and by the heroic armed struggle of the Austrian proletariat, which recalled the struggle of the Paris Communards.

Comrade Manuilsky showed with concrete examples how the Second International became "the chief support of world reaction." He showed with extraordinary clarity how many chances and opportunities the German Social-Democracy had for repelling without particular difficulty the attack of fascism, for it had at its disposal the police of Prussia and millions of the Reichsbanner, and that it "did not and could not adopt this road, because it stood on the same ground as fascism—the preservation of capitalism—because it knew that the fight which the working class had begun against fascism would go over its head and take the form of a revolution directed against the domination of the capitalists."

Comrade Manuilsky treated in detail the weaknesses in the work of the Communist Parties, owing to which they have not yet "completely defeated Social-Democracy," although "the crisis of Social-Democracy is first of all the result of the struggle which the Comintern and its Sections have for many years been waging against the Second International." He pointed out that "in a number of cases the Communist organizations resembled an ambulance which rushes to the place where the proletariat needs assistance." When the rush is over the influence gained in the course of the movement is not clinched organizationally.

He pointed out the shortcomings in our work. However, in spite of these shortcomings, Comrade Manuilsky said, our Communist Parties are growing everywhere. "The Comintern now comprises 860,000 Communists in capitalist countries but the point is not only the numerical growth of the Communist Parties, but also the growth of their influence." Comrade Manuilsky showed concretely how our Communist Parties, under conditions of an unprecedented growth of fascist terror, are going through the school of Bolshevism necessary for the victory of the revolution. "Is not the behavior and work of the Communist Party of Germany under conditions of fascist terror the surest test of its Bolshevik training?" Speaking of the successes achieved by the Communist Parties, Comrade Manuilsky mentioned among the others those of the Communist Party of Japan, and particularly those of the C.P. of China: "The first place in these achievements after the C.P.S.U. undoubtedly belongs to the Chinese Communist Party, whose militant activity plays a very big part in the maturing of the revolutionary crisis."

At the conclusion of his report, Comrade Manuilsky spoke of the enormous international importance of the great victories of the C.P.S.U.

> "At the present moment, when the bourgeoisie is driving the world into imperialist wars, when it is hitting the disarmed working class of the capitalist countries, it is particularly clear what the theory of the building of socialism in a single country means for the revolutionary movement of the world. It has been and is the theory of the great proletarian solidarity, of the great internationalism of the C.P.S.U. Armed with this theory, the proletariat unceasingly prepared, and continues to prepare, for the victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the world. Lenin led the toilers to the October Revolution in Russia. Stalin will lead them on Lenin's path to victory the world over."

In connection with Comrade Manuilsky's report, Comrade Kaganovich spoke of the necessity for strengthening the internationalist education of Communists, of the necessity of carrying on this education in the U.S.S.R., not only by means of campaigns, but systematically. The Seventeenth Congress greeted with loud applause passing into an ovation the report of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the E.C.C.I., the speech of the Chinese Comrade, Wan Ming, who reported on the splendid victories of the Chinese Soviets and Red Army; the speech of Comrade Okano, who reported on the heroic work of the Japanese Communists, and on the fight against war; the speech of Comrade Heckert, who reported on the heroic self-defense of the German Communist Party, and the speech of Comrade Dolores who described in glowing colors the course of the revolution in Spain. This demonstrated once again the strength of the spirit of internationalism in the victorious C.P.S.U., which the scoundrelly counter-revolutionary Trotskyists "who are now hanging around the backyards of the bourgeois parties abroad" (Stalin) dare to accuse of "nationalist limitations."

The Congress of victors almost coincided with big revolutionary events in France and revolutionary events of the greatest imporance in Austria. All this shows how rapidly the revolutionary crisis is maturing throughout the world. Under these conditions all the Sections of the Comintern in the capitalist countries must popularize as widely as possible among the masses the great victories of the C.P.S.U. reported at the Seventeenth Congress, in order that the proletarians of the world, in whose minds "the idea of storming the citadel of capitalism is maturing" and who are already beginning to storm it, may see in reality the great goal of their struggle. At the same time the Communist Parties of capitalist countries must study, and learn from the lessons of the C.P.S.U., the shock brigade of the world proletariat," how the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin can and should be held high, how the broad masses can and should be infected with enthusiasm and mobilized for struggle, how Leninist-Stalinist strategy and tactics can and should be car-

ried out, how the "level of organizational leadership can and should be raised to the level of political leadership."

Particularly well must our Communist Parties remember Comrade Stalin's words:

> "A revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature. . . . But the victory of the revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory."

THE REVOLUTIONARY BATTLES IN CUBA

By D. R. D.

BIG events are developing once more in Cuba. In the middle of January, the C.P. Cuba and the revolutionary Confederation of Labor (C.N.O.C.) called on the workers to prepare for a general strike against the new Mendieta government which has come to power with the direct support of American imperialism and which had united all the basic groups of Cuban counter-revolution with the aim of launching a decisive attack on the revolutionary movement and the gains of the working class. The world bourgeois press which, echoing American imperialism, enthusiastically welcomed the coming to power of a government "with no tendencies to the extreme left" (*Times,* Jan. 19) announced to the world the complete collapse of the general strike in Cuba. The bourgeois press was somewhat too hasty. The very first day of the existence of the new reactionary government was marked by a wave of strikes in Havana and other towns which paralyzed the railroads and street cars and left the towns without light. On January 24, the New York *Times* stated that the strike movement was spreading to the provinces, to the sugar refineries and plantations, (the so-called Centrales). On February 1, according to *L'Humanite,* about 100,000 workers were already on strike in Cuba, among them 26,000 women in the province of Pinar del Rio and in Havana. On February 5, Tass cabled from New York that the strike movement was spreading throughout the country and paralyzing the basic branches of Cuban industry—sugar and tobacco—as well as transport, electric power, etc., and that 150,000 workers took part in the movement. Finally, according to the latest information of Tass dated February 7 from New York, 5,000 harbor workers and chauffeurs and 8,000 miners had joined the strike. In various parts of Coba, the strikes and mass demonstrations were already accompanied by armed clashes between the demonstrators and the troops.

Now, what is this Mendieta government against which the present general strike is directed? It is a government which American imperialism and Cuban counter-revolution have put in power after the previous bourgeois-landlord government of Grau san Martin proved incapable of coping with the growing forces of revolution.

The attitude of American imperialism towards Grau was sufficiently clearly expressed in a private letteer of the United States Ambassador to Cuba, Welles (who since then has beeen replaced by Roosevelt's personal representative, Caffery). The following is a passage from Welles' letter:

> "Grau San Martin has not the confidence of anybody. Should he continue to rule, we have no hope that the present depression in foreign and Cuban business interests can be remedied for some time. He has entirely lost control of the requirements in the present situation. His idea of government is to issue decrees or laws, no matter how inapplicable or impossible the carrying out of these decrees might be." (*Daily Worker,* New York, December 15, 1933.)

The attitude of the Cuban ruling classes towards Grau is no better. *Cuba Importadora i Industria,* the organ of the commercial circles, wrote as follows in December, 1933:

> "The affairs of our government are in the hands of an 'authentic' revolutionary regime represented by a small and hastily improvised group. Without any public support and relying only on violence this group is leading the country to disaster which is tantamount to social and economic catastrophe. . . . From the very moment when this group took over control of government affairs by means of violence we have witnessed feverish thoughts, absence of any preparatory work and the obvious ineptitude of the members of this group coupled with passionate egoism that has become characteristic of every act of the new government."

Even the correspondent of the American *Nation,* who on the whole was sympathetic to the Grau government, admits that "the present Grau Government is a romantic, nationalistic enterprise without a definite program." (*Nation,* January 17, 1934).

These quotations show that although the Grau Government defended the interests of the bour-

geoisie and landlords as well as their dictatorship against the developing revolution of the people it did not enjoy the support of either the ruling classes or the imperialists. Grau was put into the President's chair by the petty-bourgeoisie, mainly by the students, by the workers who were under petty-bourgeois influence and by the army which got rid of its old officers who were in the service of Dictator Machado. The army, however, was not in the hands of Grau, but in the hands of Sergeant Batista who became commander-in-chief and temporarily supported Grau. Grau made desperate attempts to extend his petty-bourgeois support by means of petty concessions and anti-imperialist demagogy. Thus he issued a decree reducing gas and electric rates by 45 per cent and when the American electric company refused to comply he established government control over it.

He even refused to make payments to American banks in respect to certain loans made by Machado. He tried to win over the unemployed by his so-called "50 per cent law" according to which, 50 per cent of all jobs must be put at the disposal of native Cubans. Finally, in the very last days of his rule, Grau even issued a decree according to which the land belonging to the government was to be distributed among the peasants, each peasant household receiving 33 and one-third acres; by this decree he hoped to win the support of the peasantry.

However, the majority of these decrees together with many others issued by him remained on paper and failed to improve the situation of the petty-bourgeoisie, thus resulting in the growth of discontent among the petty-bourgeoisie. The chief force in Cuba in this period was not the petty-bourgeoisie, but the proletariat. The period of the Grau government coincided with the rapid development of strike struggles of the workers against the capitalists. Throughout the whole of Cuba the workers, among whom there are about half a million unemployed (according to *Wirtschaftdienst,* June 16, 1933) took the offensive against the employers in an attempt to utilize the favorable situation created after the fall of Machado, first of all in order to improve their economic situation. It is precisely this powerful strike movement of the proletariat which gave such breadth and force to the August revolution, transforming it into a real mass revolution. The workers achieved important successes in their economic struggles: in several industries the capitalists were compelled to raise wages and introduce the eight-hour day. Of special importance is the success of the strike struggles of the sugar plantation workers which were accompanied by seizure of plantations and in certain cases even by the establishment of Soviets, which however lasted only a few days. The movement of the sugar plantation workers struck a blow against the chief interests of American capital in Cuba.

Simultaneously with the development of the strike struggles of the workers and in connection with these struggles the revolutionary trade unions as well as the influence of the Communist Party among the working masses gained strengtth. The Communist Party of Cuba succeeded in winning over from the reformists a number of trade unions among which there was the mass union of tobacco workers. The Party considerably extended its influence in and increased the membership of the revolutionary sugar plantation workers' union, which was first organized in the beginning of 1933. On January 12, 1934, the fourth congress of the revolutionary Confederation of Labor was opened in Havana in the presence of 10,000 workers. Over 2,000 delegates were present at this congress and if our information is correct, these two thousand delegates represent 300,000 organized workers, which means that the Communist Party has come very near to winning over the majority of the Cuban proletariat.

The ruling classes of Cuba and American imperialism could not help noticing that the rapid revolutionization of the masses and particularly the growth of the influence and force of the Communist Party represented a threat to the very foundations of the bourgeois landlord regime and imperialist rule in Cuba. They requested the Grau Government to take decisive measures against the revolutionary movement. Grau tried to satisfy these demands; he shot down workers' demonstrations; he raided trade unions; he sent troops to the "Centrales" (sugar refineries attached to the plantations); he arrested Communists. But he was powerless to crush the movement, and under the pressure of the masses he was forced on several occasions to retreat. Very characteristic of this helpless wavering policy is the raid on the headquarters of the Revolutionary Confederation of Labor. This raid was conducted under the personal supervision of one of Grau's ministers. Besides the headquarters of the Confederation the house of the secretary, Comrade Sasara Villar, was also raided, and Comrade Villar, together with several others, was arrested. On the following day protests from working class organizations began to pour in. Grau denied all responsibility in connection with the raid and put all the blame on some unknown sergeant. The leaders of the Confederation were at once released with apologies and compensation for damages was offered to the Confederation.

American imperialism, which is the main factor in the counter-revolutionary camp, twice attempted to bring about the overthrow of Grau, first with the help of the reactionary terrorist A.B.C. organization. The revolt of the counter-revolutionary officers

and students led by the A.B.C. and the United States Ambassador to Cuba took place on November 7-8, but found no response among the masses and was crushed by Battista without any great difficulty. The second time American imperialism undoubtedly placed its stake on Battista himself, as a would-be military dictator. In the letter quoted above, Ambassador Welles wrote:

> "There is a solution to the situation, if Colonel Battista is ready to act. Decidedly he is opposed to Communism, and were he determined to maintain order, he would receive the support of the business and banking groups with a view to replacing the present regime by a government in which they could have more confidence."

However, this attempt failed. First the petty officers refused to support Battista against Grau. Later, on the eve of Mendieta's coming to power, when Battista was still attempting to establish his own dictatorship, the strike of the municipal workers and civil servants compelled him to give up his attempt. Finally, American imperialism was all the same successful in uniting the Cuban counter-revolutionary forces and in persuading Grau to resign. This was due first of all to the fact that Grau had completely lost the confidence of the petty bourgeoisie. Under the influence of the strike wave in the last days of November, and especially in December, there were waverings in the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie. These waverings found their expression in the strikes of teachers and doctors, in the anti-government demonstrations of the students, etc. The situation became unfavorable in the army. The old army discipline was being destroyed. It had become more and more difficult to use the army for crushing revolutionary actions. It became necessary to resort to all sorts of slander against the Communists, and to cajole the soldiers. The army ceased to be the obedient tool of the ruling classes. The approach of the so-called "Zafra" (harvest season on the sugar plantations) upon which the profits of American capital in Cuba depend, compelled American imperialism to hasten the overthrow of the government, notwithstanding the fact that Grau, with all his zig-zags, was undoubtedly moving to the right. This found its expression not only in the attempts to crush the revolutionary movement, but also in the release of the counter-revolutionary officers arrested after the revolt.

In the middle of January the fall of the Grau government had become inevitable. The fact that this change of government took place by means of an agreement and not by means of armed rebellion and the fact that Evia, who came into power after Grau, could hold power only two days, shows the force of the revolutionary pleasure of the masses.

Thus, American imperialism has been successful in placing finally in power a government of united counter-revolution without resorting to open armed intervention which, for reasons of an international character, would be inconvenient. Of course it is not excluded that disagreement in the camp of the ruling classes still exists.

The immediate tasks of the Mendieta government are clear. It must launch a decisive offensive against the revolutionary movement, it must bring to naught the economic victories of the working class and ensure the carrying out of the Zafra in the interests of American capital.

While the Cuban counter-revolution—the bourgeoisie and landlords—are calling for full confidence in Mendieta, American imperialism is doing all in its power to help them carry their aim into effect. For four months American imperialism stubbornly refused to recognize the Grau government under the pretext that it did not represent the "will of the nation." This same American imperialism hastens to recognize the Mendieta government a few days after its formation, evidently considering it to be definitely proved that it represents the "will of the nation," though a considerable part if not the majority of the Cuban nation—the proletariat and the urban poor—by means of strikes demonstrate their will to overthrow this government of united reaction. With the same object of supporting Mendieta, American imperialism hastens to promise a big quota for Cuban sugar (according to the plan of Chadbourne, the export of sugar in the years of the crisis must be a little more than one-third of normal) and to finance its manufacture and export in the coming season. The latest statement in the New York *Times* speaks of the decision of Roosevelt to send two million dollars worth of food to Cuba on credit for the supply of the population whose purchases of food have fallen greatly during the years of the crisis, thus reducing wide sections of the population to a state of actual starvation.

Will the Mendieta government be able to carry out the tasks imposed on it and deprive the revolution of its "social character which fatally threatens to bring it to a crisis," according to the expression of the most openly reactionary organ of the Cuban ruling classes, *Diario dela Marina?*

The first steps of the new government showed that it was trying to "step cautiously" at first. Mendieta's government confirmed Grau's "50 per cent law" against which the American sugar manufacturers who import cheap labor power into Cuba—Negroes from Haiti and Jamaica—had protested as well as the maintenance of government control over the plant of the American Electric Company. These measures show that Mendieta, not feeling himself strong enough to make a frontal attack on the pro-

letariat, at any rate, at the given stage, tried to carry out the slogan proclaimed by reaction: "Not for sovietism, not for feudalism but for enlightened opportunism. We must all sacrifice something so as not to lose all." [1] As can be seen, the Cuban landlords and capitalists understand perfectly well *what* the further development of the revolution may mean to them. However, the objective conditions and the growing indignation of the masses proved to be stronger than the cunning calculations of counter-revolution which wished to continue Grau's policy of honied phrases and empty promises a little longer so as to utilize this time for rallying its forces and above all for strengthening the shattered discipline in the army and forming supplementary armed forces in the form of class military organizations.[2]

By the objective conditions to which we referred previously we mean the beginning of the season for harvesting and manufacturing the sugarcane and the so-called Zafra. The question of Zafra is a question of national importance for Cuba since sugarcane is practically the only crop of the country. Sugar and allied products comprise 85 per cent of Cuban exports and directly or indirectly affect the immediate interests of two-thirds of the population of the country. The chief profits of the American capitalists who operate in Cuba and appropriate 75 per cent of the entire national income of the country, are connected with the manufacture of sugar.[3] As the result of some months of strikes, the workers in the plantations secured a rise in wages from 15-20 cents to $1 for an eight-hour day. At the present level of prices for sugar, the maintenance of these wages is incompatible with the colonial superprofits to which American capital is accustomed. The American sugar manufacturers refused to begin the Zafra until the Mendieta government took steps to "protect them from the discontented workers," *i.e.*, until wages were reduced to the level of Machado's time. The Zafra season usually begins January 15. On January 20, 1934, only eight Centrales were at work, while a year ago about 200 were in operation at this period. But neither the American capitalists nor the Cuban government can limit themselves to a mere sabotaging of the Zafra on which the profits of the former and the income of the latter depend. However much the Mendieta government may wish to tarry a little before exposing its anti-worker face, its attack on the gains of the workers has become quite inevitable. During the last few days this attack has found expression among other things in the prohibition of strikes. Such are the objective conditions which have accelerated the new rise of the strike wave. Under the leadership of the C.P. and the C.N.O.C. (National Federation of Labor of Cuba) these mass strikes have grown into a counter-offensive of the workers against reaction, into a general political strike which at the present time is paralyzing almost all the economic life of Cuba.

The political significance of the present general strike differs in principle from the strike which overthrew Machado in August, 1933. In the overthrow of Machado, besides the working class which was the main driving force, there took part also various groups of the Cuban bourgeoisie and the landlords who felt offended by Machado and his clique which monopolized for itself all the spoils of office. In the August strike the proletariat was not yet opposed to the ruling classes, because in practice the working masses did not yet see that *essentially* in their class hatred for the toilers these bourgeois-landlord groups in no way differed from Machado although they opposed him. It is precisely for this reason that the liberal press in Cuba and outside it speaks so lovingly of the national character of the "glorious" revolution which overthrew Machado. The present general strike is developing after four months of revolution, after hundreds of thousands of workers had been drawn into the economic struggle against the capitalists, thousands of them, in all probability, having taken part in strikes several times (we have no exact data), when not only the workers but also the broad masses of the people have felt on their own shoulders the policy not only of the rights but also of the most "left" radical demagogic part of the Cuban bourgeoisie as represented by the Grau government. In the present strike it is not against the government of a part of the ruling classes that the workers are striking but against the government of "national concentration" which has the open support of all the political groups of the Cuban bourgeoisie and landlords. Therefore the present general strike is bound to be accompanied by a sharp division of the class forces on the political stage of Cuba and is bound to be directed objectively against the bourgeois-landlord semi-colonial regime as a whole. The full realization of this central point—the political significance of the present general strike by the working masses depends entirely on the successful work of the Communist Party. But the further development of events depends to a great extent on the correctness of its policy.

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Having called on the workers to defend their gains from the attacks of reaction, the C.P. of Cuba, ac-

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[1] *Diario dela Marina*, Jan. 23, 1934.

[2] According to the *Daily Worker*, the A.B.C. has already started to form counter-revolutionary detachments of "Green Shirts."

[3] Figures from *Wirtschaftdienst*, June 16, 1933.

cording to the casual information of the *Daily Worker,* launched two basic political slogans in the workers' and peasants' committees of action and the present general strike—the formation of united seizure of the power in the localities by the workers and peasants. Both slogans are correct but insufficient. The brief history of the Cuban revolution can already show cases when the workers, having seized the local power, did not know what to do with the power they had seized. There was such a case in Sienfuegos, where the workers kept the local municipality in their hands for several days marking time until they were driven out by the troops. The only measure undertaken by the workers' power was the handing over of 40,000 pesos belonging to the local authorities for distribution among the unemployed. Likewise when the workers seized the centrales and formed Soviets in the centrale at Mabei, nothing was done for the immediate distribution of land to the peasants. These facts show that the slogan of the seizure of the local power is not sufficient. It is also necessary to indicate a series of concrete transitional demands for which the Party is now struggling and which can be carried out *immediately* either by direct action or as soon as the power in any district comes into the hands of the workers and peasants even if this power is of short duration. Among such transitional demands are: workers' control over the factories with increased wages, introduction of the eight-hour day, etc., the annulment of the debts of the peasants and the division of the land of the landlords and the government, as well as the plantations among the peasants, the confiscation of the reserves of food and clothing for the benefit of the unemployed, the moving of the workers to the best houses, a considerable reduction of taxation, determined measures for the struggle against speculation and high prices, a guarantee that the Zafra will be carried on in the interests of the toiling population, and, last but not least, the arming of the workers and peasants, the formation of defense detachments, red guards, etc.

A short and simply written platform of such intermediate demands will not only show the workers what to fight for at the present time but will also serve as a guide to *immediate* action for the workers and peasants; will rouse and direct the initiative even in places where the direct leadership of the Party is difficult or inexperienced. It is true that even on November 10th, the Party published quite a good program of the workers' and peasants' government, pointing out concretely what the Soviet power will give to the various strata of the toilers. This program is useful and necessary for general agitation for the Soviet power but cannot replace a short program of action for the present period which is *transitional,* passing into a direct struggle for the workers' and peasants' government. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that there are mistakes in this program. The demand for the collective cultivation of the land when the plantations came into the hands of the peasants and farm laborers is the most dangerous of these mistakes, because firstly, it deprives the Party of the support of considerable sections (if not the majority) of the peasants and of some of the farm laborers who depend on the plantations and who wish to cultivate their own farms and secondly, inasfar as the methods of large-scale cultivation used on the plantations are connected with the manufacture of cane sugar, it makes it difficult for Cuba to build up its own food basis, on the development of which the future fate of the workers' and peasants' revolution will depend to a great extent *after* the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord government.

In the past the Party did not always show ability to maneuver with slogans so that they should be in accord with the various levels of the movement in the various districts, with the rapidly changing situation, with the turn and changes of particular phases in the development of the revolution. It is sufficient to look at the leaflets and manifestos of the Communist Party to see that all the slogans of the Party belong to one of the two basic groups—immediate economic demands or the agitational slogans of the Soviet power. However, even under the Grau government, it was necessary to put forward a number of intermediate demands which do not deny but presuppose (this applies also to the present stage) the preservation and extension of elementary economic demands in those districts of the country where the movement is only beginning, for those backward sections of the working class and especially of the peasants, which are rising to the struggle for the first time, etc.

A most important task faces the Party in the sphere of the *political education and organization of the masses.* We have already noted the great successes of the C.P. of Cuba in winning over the working masses. The fact that the Party secured these successes as a result of the successful leadership of mass economic struggles is a tremendous asset to the Party. But the trade unions won by the Party from the reformists have not yet been consolidated. The reformists still sit in the trade unions. They have quieted down for a time and are waiting for a convenient opportunity to come to the fore again. If the Party does not carry on mass work with the aim of politically isolating the reformists from the masses then there is still the danger that some sections of the proletariat will waver and some ex-reformist trade unions will withdraw from C.N.O.C. This actually happened in some districts

when Grau began his repressive measures against the revolutionary unions. The present general strike provides particularly favorable conditions for developing energetic work with the object of politically educating the masses on the experience of their own struggle, for the raising of the movement to a higher level, for plainly showing to the masses that all the reformists, however they may call themselves, are on the other side of the barricade, and that the only leader capable of carrying the working class and the peasants to the victorious completion of the revolution and the winning of power is the Communist Party.

In order to consolidate its influence in the trade unions, the Party must considerably strengthen the Party backbone in them, which presupposes the extensive recruiting of trade union members for the Party and the Y.C.L. It must bring about the correct functioning of the Communist fractions, get possession of the trade union apparatus and drive the reformists out of the leading organs, and without fail, introduce non-Party revolutionary workers into them as well as Communists. Finally, the organizational fusion of the ex-reformist unions with the revolutionary unions demands that they should be recognized on an industrial basis, and especially it demands the organization, widening and strengthening of the factory committees in the various enterprises. All this work can only be successfully carried on provided it is accompanied by a struggle against the influence of the reformists and by our mercilessly unmasking them before the broadest working masses, and provided that at the same time we carefully take into account the concrete situation in every trade union.

The Party theoretically understands the significance of the agrarian revolution. However, in practice the Party has so far done very little to organize peasant committees in the villages, to develop the struggle of the peasants for land.

The level of the peasant movement throughout the whole period since the fall of Machado has lagged greatly behind the powerful strike struggle of the proletariat and in general has not gone beyond the limits of the partial demands of the peasants. This is the basic weakness of the Cuban revolution. Only in two Eastern provinces (Oriente and Santa Clara) which, however, are extremely important from the point of view of the distribution of the population, the peasants in isolated cases began to seize the land of the landlords. The lagging of the peasant movement behind the development of the proletarian struggle is undoubtedly connected with the fact that the Party, having incorrectly understood the task of maneuvering in connection with the danger of intervention by American imperialism, withdrew the slogan of the confiscation of the plantations belonging to the imperialists and their division among the toilers of the villages. In the program of the workers' and peasants' government mentioned above, the peasants are left somewhere in the background, after the petty-bourgeoisie, after the office workers, handicraftsmen, students and traders.

The Party in general, it should be said, neglected work in the villages, not only forgetting the importance of this work from the point of view of ensuring support for the proletariat by its chief ally —the peasants—but forgetting also the connection between the attitude of the peasants to the proletariat and the attitude of the army to the revolution. The Party says nothing about the giving of land to soldiers. It formulates the slogan of soviets thus—soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies, *supported* by committees of soldiers and sailors, seemingly denying the soldiers and sailors direct participation in the soviets, which is absolutely impermissable. If we add to this that the Party pays little attention and devotes little effort to the work in the army, it will explain the comparatively small success of the Party among the masses of soldiers, especially in the matter of organizing soldiers' committees. However, we must mention that the latest information of the *Daily Worker* speaks of improvement in this work. For example, it is mentioned that the sailors from two warships offered their support to the Party, in some districts the soldiers and junior officers send their delegates to the Party committees, expressing their readiness to act at the instructions of the Party. This shows that the Cuban comrades have realized that at the present stage of the movement the disintegration of the army and the winning of even part of it to the side of the revolutionary people is one of the most important conditions for the victory of the revolution.

In order to get the masses to join our organizations and to guarantee a Party backbone in the mass organizations, the C.P. of Cuba must become a mass organization. For this purpose 6,000 members and about the same number of Y.C.L.'ers is not sufficient although these figures signify that the membership of the Party and the Y.C.L. has more than doubled during the last four or five months. The Party must strengthen its illegal apparatus and improve its guidance of the provinces in order to ensure a united political line and unity of action in the various districts. Finally in every organization of the Party we must enforce iron discipline and inflict strict punishments including expulsion from the Party for any negotiations with class hostile groups without the preliminary decision of competent organs.

The C.P. of Cuba and the worker and peasant

masses which follow it are entering a transition stage to decisive struggles for power, for the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasants. The next few weeks will show whether American imperialism, through its puppet Mendieta, will once more fully establish a colonial regime in Cuba or whether the toiling masses of Cuba, led by the working class and its Communist Party, will obtain their freedom, will obtain firm gains which no reaction will be able to take away from them.

THE WORKERS IN THE KINGDOM OF "ORGANIZED NATIONAL LABOR"

By F. DAVID

THE law passed by the Hitler government on January 12, 1934 "on the regulation of national labor," is so inimical to the interests of the working class that one can not find its equal in the entire history of German capitalism. The noose of poverty, ruin and hunger is tightening. *The bourgeoisie is frantically intensifying its economic means of exploitation by methods of fascist violence, by robbing the toiling classes. . . .*" (From the theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Italics mine. —F. D.)

The German bourgeoisie is callously and cynically attempting to coin its temporary victory into dollars and cents. It wants to wipe out at one blow all the social victories that the German proletariat has gained in the seventy-five years of its class struggle. It wants to bring back the years of the "dynasty" of the Dreissigers,[1] to establish once more the horrible conditions of labor described in "The Weavers"—written by Gerhardt Hauptmann in his youth. Now Gerhardt Hauptmann adapted himself to the hangman's regime of the modern Dreissigers.

In the days of the November revolution of 1918, much discussion was evoked by the winged words uttered by Emile Bart, the "representative of the people" in the "revolutionary government," who was at that time an independent Social-Democrat. He defended the property and profits of the German capitalists with high-sounding phrases about the great tasks of the revolution, which the proletariat must not, he said, "degrade to the level of an economic movement." In the opinion of this Philistine, in the revolution of 1918, the workers had "to conduct themselves modestly and restrainedly towards their employers," or else the revolution would be lost. Only counter-revolutionary philistines failed to understand that during the revolution the German workers were absolutely right in fighting for an immediate and radical improvement in their conditions—advancing demands for a rise in wages, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, etc. And now the German bourgeoisie is teaching the workers a lesson: it is using the establishment of the sanguinary dictatorship of fascism—which it calls the "national revolution"—for an "economic movement" of unparalleled scope, for the unheard-of robbery and enslavement of the working class.

The masters of Hitlerite Germany—the Tiessens and the Krupps, urged on by the crisis and their avaricious hunt for profits are neither willing nor able to wait any longer. The Hitler dictatorship is fulfilling its real task—to serve as a whip in the hands of the slave-owners.

I. THE ABOLITION OF THE TARIFF AGREEMENTS

What are the new developments which the law of January 12, 1934, carries with it for the working class? Of the eleven labor laws annulled by the new law, the most important were the decree on tariff agreements of December 23, 1918, and the law on shop and factory committees of February 5, 1921. Since the burning of the Reichstag, factory and shop committees have practically ceased to exist. But up to the present, the situation in regard to tariff agreements was quite different: expiring tariff agreements were in most cases renewed without great changes, by the fascist labor authorities. But now this will be *radically* changed.

How have wage rates and conditions of labor been regulated in post-war Germany up to the present? In this respect we had the *labor agreement, the tariff agreement, and rules for the internal management of the shops and factories.* All the conditions of work were provided for in the labor agreement, which was concluded separately between the employer and each individual worker upon starting work. The tariff agreement was concluded between the trade-unions and the employers, or the employers' organizations. However, the conditions of the labor

[1] The Dreissigers—a family of textile barons of Silesia (figures in Hauptmann's "The Weavers"), which owns large textile factories to this very day.

agreement could not be worse than those provided for in the tariff agreement. And this was the most important point in the decree on tariff agreements of December 23, 1918. It was precisely this point in the tariff agreements—a point known under the appellation, "unalterability" (*Unabdingbarkeit*) — which was most furiously resisted by the employers.

The law of January 12 *abolishes the entire system of tariff agreements*. Hours of labor, wages, and all other conditions of labor are determined solely by the employers. The *Vossische Zeitung* in its editorial of January 18, on this law wrote:

> "The collective regulation of wages, in the sense in which it has existed up to now, will not exist in Germany in the future. This is one of the most profound consequences of the establishment of the principle of leadership (Fuehrerprinzip) in the shops and factories. The dissolution of the trade-unions and the employers' unions has already made impossible any collective negotiations and agreements by organizations standing above the factories. With the introduction of the new rules of internal organization, not even the workers of individual shops and factories will be able to come out jointly and collectively against the employers."

The employers decide personally, dictatorially, on all questions of hours, wages, and other conditions of labor. Tariff agreements no longer exist; and, according to the law, in concluding labor agreements, the employer—who has behind him the entire apparatus of the murderous fascist dictatorship —is to be faced by scattered, individual, unorganized workers. And the rules of internal organization are also dictatorially established by the employer alone. This is emphasized in the law in the following manner:

> "The leader of the enterprise (the employer—F.D.) decides for his followers (the workers of the enterprise—F.D.) all questions connected with the affairs of the enterprise."

Strikes are prohibited in Hitler's kingdom. The law provides for "courts of honor," whose duty it is to bring to account "members of the factory community who by their malicious instigation and incitement endanger the industrial peace of the shops and factories."

Then what means may the workers use to defend themselves against the arbitrary power of the employers? According to the law of January 12, only one way is open to the workers in exceptional cases, they may appeal to the fascist labor authorities. Of course, this is about as useful as complaining to the devil about his grandmother. But it is characteristic that even this possibility of complaining to the labor authority—this agent of the fascist dictatorship and of monopoly capital—is hedged in with all sorts of difficulties for the workers. This authority has the right (and the law persistently emphasizes that he must use this right only in exceptional cases) to issue general instructions fixing the wages and the wage rates for various categories of workers. The shop and factory delegates[1] appointed by the employers and the leaders of the National-Socialist Party nuclei in the shops and factories may, if such is the desire of the majority of the delegates, protest to the labor authority against the decisions of the employer. But at the same time the law states that an appeal to the labor authority does not stop the decisions of the employer from taking effect, and even—which is rather interesting—that "members of the factory community who repeatedly place before the labor authority frivolous, baseless complaints or proposals" will be punished.

The workers are thus handed over to the most arbitrary power of the employers. The employer obtains the right to make dictatorial decisions in relation to wages and other conditions of labor in his enterprise.

II. THE LEGISLATIVE ABOLITION OF FACTORY AND SHOP COMMITTEES.

The law on factory and shop committees is also annuled by the law of January 12. The factory and shop committees are replaced by *councils of delegates*. But how is such a council of delegates formed?

> "The leader of the enterprise, in agreement with the leader of the national-socialist factory organization, draws up a list of delegates and substitutes in March of every year. The followers (the workers) immediately express their opinion about the list by a secret ballot. Should it prove impossible to form a council of delegates in this manner, the labor authority may appoint the proper number of delegates."

The delegates, together with and directed by the employer, constitute the council of delegates of the enterprise. This institution gives the employer "aid through advice," and is a deliberative organ under the authority of the employer. The employer calls this council together from time to time; and the very first task of such a council is the struggle for "an increase in the productivity of labor."

The law of January 12 also provides for an institute of labor authorities and an establishment of so-called "social courts of honor." The Hitler gov-

[1] We shall deal with the shop and factory delegates in the next (the second) section of this article.

ernment gives the labor authority the power "to look after the maintenance of industrial peace" in his definite economic district. The police apparatus is at the service of the labor authority. The "social courts of honor" are constituted in the following manner:

> "A court of honor includes a legal functionary as chairman, one of the leaders of the enterprise and one of the delegates as jurors. The leader of the enterprise and the delegate are co-opted by the chairman of the court according to a list of candidates drawn up by the 'German Labor Front.'"

The "courts of honor" can impose various punishments, from warnings and reprimands to dismissal from work.

But what are these councils of delegates, these labor authorities, these "social courts of honor"? They are nothing else but *police organs*, whose task it is to spy out "undesirable elements."

With mealy-mouthed speeches the fascists attempt to sweeten this law of January 12 which unequivocally ratifies the right of the modern slave-owners to unlimited robbery and the most callous arbitrary rule. The exploiters, the employers, in this law, are termed "leaders of enterprises"; the exploited, the workers—the followers. All this is done in an attempt to create an appearance that class antagonisms and the class struggle have been removed in the fascist kingdom where poverty and lawlessness are the lot of the toilers. The words "loyalty" and "honor" figure in every paragraph—words borrowed from the times of the brigandage of the feudal barons.

Two days before the law became known in all its monstrous details, the fascists called upon the Berlin workers to come to the Lustgarten and there to demonstrate in honor of this law. Goebbels, in a speech at the Lustgarten, called the law—which ratifies the unlimited power and terror of the capitalists—a measure of the "socialist revolution":

> "You misunderstand us altogether," said Goebbels, "if you believe that we set as our task the protection by force of the money-boxes of any grouping of capital. Our revolution was directed not only against Marxism, but also against reaction. It was a socialist revolution."

Angriff characterized the law of January 12 as "a piece of socialism." *Voelkischer Beobachter* wrote shamelessly in its editorial of January 19, under the title, "Socialism in Action": "The law gives the workers what they have been striving for throughout many years."

The "highly cultured," truly "Aryan" defenders of the rule of the fist, and the unlimited exploitation of the proletariat attempt to attain two ends through this base demagogy: in the first place, to deceive the workers and retard the inevitable growth of the indignation and the revolutionary struggle of the masses; and in the second place, to discredit the very idea of socialism. However, the idea of fooling the people, with fascist sergeant-majors and executioners in the role of demagogues, cannot be successful. And in answer to this general attack of capital and fascism the Communist Party of Germany is doing everything to mobilize the masses within as short a time as possible, against the removal by the fascists of the social achievements of the proletariat, against the whole system of fascist slavery.

III. WHY THE GERMAN BOURGEOISIE AND FASCISM BEGIN THEIR ATTACK ON THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND THE SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WORKING MASSES PRECISELY AT THIS TIME

It is quite obvious that from the very first days of its coming to power the Hitler government was determined to put an end to all the social achievements of the German working class. During all the years of the crisis the capitalists have carried on a most violent struggle against these achievements; for they see in the destruction of these achievements the only way out of the crisis (apart from war). Then why did the Hitler government wait a whole year before promulgating the law of January 12? Does not this mean that the fascist dictatorship in Germany has consolidated itself—that it now feels strong enough to carry out a frontal attack against the working masses?

No; of course not. The publication of the law precisely at this moment, far from testifying to the strengthening and consolidation of the Hitler dictatorship, on the contrary signalizes the enormous difficulties which are growing up before the bourgeoisie in Germany. In 1933, the capitalists robbed the workers mainly by all sorts of indirect methods (raising prices on the prime necessaries of life and on articles of broad consumption, shortening the working week, raising the workers' norms of production, forcing "voluntary subscriptions," etc.). Owing to this robbery, and to the war orders, German industry experienced a certain revival in the summer and autumn of last year. However, *the winter brought the curve down;* the indirect possibilities of robbing the workers were in the main exhausted, and the bourgeoisie was faced with the necessity of a transition to a direct attack on wages. It considered that in the conditions of the beginning of the revolutionary revival, it would be impossible to carry out this attack through the tariff agreement system; this would have provoked the opposition of the great, compact masses of the proletariat. The German bourgeoisie preferred to carry out this at-

tack in the individual enterprises; and it *was in a hurry* with this measure, apprehending lest the strengthening of the Communist Party and the growth of the revolutionary revival may create a situation in which such a general attack will no longer be possible.

Thus, the abolition of the tariff agreement system was caused by the desperate attempts of the German bourgeoisie to keep up the economic revival which was beginning, and by their dread of encountering large, compact masses of workers in any attack against wages.

In reality, notwithstanding all the promises of the fascist leaders, the winter has brought a sharp increase in the number of unemployed. Bernhardt Koeller, the director of the economic division of the Central Committee of the National-Socialist party, wrote in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* only a few weeks ago:

> "The guaranteed prevention of the seasonal growth of unemployment in the winter months of this year is a success of great strategic skill."

However, the published figures on employment for December show an entirely different picture. According to these figures, the number of registered unemployed increased by 343,000 in one month, and the number employed on public works decreased by 123,000 so that there was a total increase of 466,000 in the number of unemployed. This considerably exceeds the figures for the increase of unemployment in December, 1932. According to the same statistics, the discharged workers were not engaged in agriculture but in industry and in the building trade. Thus it is evident that we have to deal not with a seasonal depression in the economic situation, but with a general lowering of the level of industrial production.

In these conditions, the German bourgeoisie is trying to get out of the crisis by further lowering the standard of living of the proletariat, by bringing it down to the standard of living of the Chinese coolie. Of course, even last year the Hitler government carried out a cut in wages by all sorts of measures—even though in most cases its labor authorities renewed the current tariff agreements without great changes. Even the Institute of Conjunctional research, which has been "unified" in harmony with fascism, admits that despite the rise in prices, the turnover of commodities in the retail trade in 1933 decreased by 7 per cent in comparison with 1932. In its New-Years thoughts the fascisized *Frankfurter Zeitung* of December 31, 1933, spoke about "economic recovery," about the provision of work for the unemployed, and about the improvement which allegedly has set in in the situation of the workers. However, at the same time the paper was compelled to admit that except for the textile industry, the situation in the light industry was lamentable. Thus, for instance:

> "In the food industry in general there is as yet no recovery; and in some of its branches one can even notice a certain decrease in sales. During the past months of the fiscal year 1933, the tax on beer has so far brought in 12 per cent less than in 1932; and the tax on tobacco, 4 per cent less. However, the decrease in purchasing power in this sphere was expressed, not by a decrease in sales, but by a transition to the cheaper brands. The halt in the development of consumption is illustrated also by the tax on travel."

This forced admission of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is very significant. Why—one would like to ask—did not the production of the food industry in 1933 reach even the dimensions of 1932; why was less beer drunk, and less tobacco used? Fascist statistics give no answer to this question. Why 1,500,000 unemployed are supposed to be back at work, receiving wages; the labor authorities have renewed the tariff agreements in most cases without lowering wage rates; the situation of the petty bourgeoisie in the cities and in the rural districts seems, according to fascist reports, to have been improved during 1933. Then, if this is so, what could have caused the decrease in purchasing power? The explanation, however, is quite simple—fascist wage rates in the shops and factories were considerably lowered in 1933, despite all statements to the contrary. And if new workers were hired anywhere, this was done at the expense of the old workers, precisely through shortening their working week with no corresponding increase in wages. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* itself is forced to admit in this same article that the hiring of new workers often brought about a decrease in the total sum of the wages paid to the workers of the given enterprise.

> "In the places where a decrease in working time was the premise for hiring new workers, the decrease in the wages of the older workers was supposed to cover in part the wages of the new workers. In many cases the hiring of new workers affected only categories paid according to the lowest tariff divisions, while the decrease in working time hurt the interests of the skilled and higher-paid workers as well."

In 1933, wages were cut by various means and methods, but all this was not enough for the employers. The fascist government which is the political representative of "the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic elements of finance capital (Theses of

the Thirteenth Pleum of the E.C.C.I.) is striving for something entirely different; *it is striving for a lowering of wages in Germany on an unprecedented scale.* Moreover, they want to deprive the workers of all possibilities of resisting this robbery, which the bourgeoisie regards as its only means of reviving industry and getting out of the crisis. The law of January 12 is the beginning of a *general attack* by the German bourgeoisie on the standard of living of the working class; it is the adventurish, predatory policy of monopoly capital, dictated by the situation of the most profound economic crisis in Germany, by the enormous difficulties of maintaining and strengthening the elements of some economic revival which appeared in 1933.

IV. GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

Our class enemy is taking advantage of its temporary victory, and attempts to deal the working class a crushing blow so as to secure to the capitalist the way out of the crisis. German social-democracy, which even under the fascist dictatorship remains the principal social support of the bourgeoisie, is hastening to fulfill its role. How did the German social-democracy react to the law of January 12? The *Neuer Vorwaertz,* organ of Wels and Stampfer, in its editorial of January 21, writes on the law:

> "The stronger the pressure, the more cleverly the methods of weakening the working class are planned, the more general will be the struggle of the working class and the aims of that struggle—*some day.*"

The full weight of this declaration lies in the two little words, "some day." The enemy is ruthlessly tearing the last piece of bread from the mouths of the German workers, is decisively destroying all their social achievements. Social-democracy, however, *does not call on the workers to struggle.* It does not indicate *any* way of struggle against the law of January 12. It only holds out the promise that some time *in the future, "some day,"* this struggle will become "more general"; that this "more general" struggle of the proletariat will be a "struggle for freedom." The social-democracy is *repeating* the traitorous tactics that it has tried out so many times before, in particular in the days of the fascist coup in 1933. Then, in the January days of 1933, they called for a *future* struggle (in case the fascists abandoned the "legal methods of struggles," and this after the fascists had burned the Reichstag, after they had begun mass arrests and murders); and just as, in the name of this future struggle, it disrupted the general strike called by the Communists —so now also, they speak of a future, "more general" struggle, in order to disrupt the *present day* resistance of the proletariat to the fascist law of starvation and slavery.

And as far as the "struggle for freedom" is concerned, the German workers know from their own experience the value of freedom *concocted according to the social-democratic recipe.* The Weimar Republic—that is the name of the social-democratic "freedom" which means freedom for the bourgeoisie to prepare for the fascist form of dictatorship *and with the help of the social-democrats to prepare also for the destruction of all the social achievements of the working class.*

The social-democrats and the trade-union bureaucrats are insolent liars, when they say that they have been and remain true fighters for and defenders of social reforms. They are agents of the bourgeoisie, and, step by step, have surrendered to the bourgeoisie, the positions wrested from it by the working class; they have paved the way for the destruction of the achievements of the working class by fascism. The social-democrats and the trade-union bureaucrats like to take credit for all the social victories achieved by the November Revolution of 1918. This is sheer impudence. It was not the Welses and the Leiparts, but the millions of German workers, with the Spartacusbund in the van, who struggled, in the stormy days of the November Revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a Soviet Germany—and who won in battle the social achievements of the November Revolution. The history of capitalism in all countries has shown that only the revolutionary mass struggle of the proletariat leads to the winning of social reforms. It is only when the bourgeoisie is faced with the possibility of losing everything, that it makes serious concessions, and grants serious social reforms. The "social" laws enacted during the revolution of 1918-19 merely sanctioned what the working class had already taken by force, in the revolutionary struggle. Now the German bourgeoisie wants to make a clean sweep not only of the achievements of the November revolution, but also of those social reforms which were attained by the German working class in the decades of struggle before the revolution. And what does social-democracy do, social-democracy which pretends to be the only bulwark of social reforms? It soothes the workers with hopes for the future "struggle for freedom," while *actually calling on them to capitulate.*

However, this is not the only time that German social-democracy has attempted, on the instructions of the bourgeoisie, to bind the working class hand and foot and to divert it from the task of smashing the frontal attack directed against it. During all the fifteen years since the war, German social-democracy has step by step opened wide the doors to fascism, to please the ruling classes. And it has

paved the way for the fascist club-law in the field of social reforms, just as in all other fields.

Even then, in the days of the revolution, social-democracy and the trade-union leaders helped the German bourgeoisie to transform the social laws into a noose for the proletariat. They attempted to split the working class by means of these laws—to strengthen and perpetuate the arbitrary rule of the bureaucracy and the aristocracy of labor in the shops and factories and in the trade unions.

The employers have struggled for years against the principle of "unalterability" in the tariff agreements; and the trade-union bureaucracy has unceasingly helped them in their struggle to achieve this aim. The trade-union bureaucracy set its hand to the extraordinary decrees of the Bruening government, of June 5 and December 8, 1931—decrees which dealt the first serious blows at the principle of "unalterability" in the tariff agreements. The trade-union bureaucracy, which was afraid of the masses and their struggle, tried ever harder to shift the negotiations in connection with the conclusion and renewal of tariff agreements from the enterprises to the offices of the trade unions; it tried to deprive the broad masses of the possibility to influence the conclusion of the tariff agreements. The workers and office-employees affected by the tariff agreements gradually ceased to take any interest in these agreements. The reactionary elements contained in the tariff agreement system were developed more and more. The policy of the trade-union bureaucrats made the task of the gradual elimination of the tariff agreements easier for the German bourgeoisie. The Communist Party struggled against the obvious hybrid character and halfway policy of these laws—against the numerous anti-working class elements which they contained—against the exploitation of these laws by the bourgeoisie and the trade-union bureaucracy—against the latter's policy of preventing the working masses from participation in the conclusion of the tariff agreements. *But at the same time the Communist Party strove to make the utmost use of the positions given to the proletariat by these laws.*

V. THE TASKS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE STARVATION AND SLAVERY LAW

The abolition of the tariff agreements and of the shop and factory committees will inevitably entail *an enormous sharpening of the class struggle in Germany.*

With the law of January 12, the bourgeoisie and fascism have opened a new general attack on the standard of living of the working class. Monopoly capital and its fascist agents, who in 1933 established the regime of open, brutal political enslavement of the proletariat, are now intensifying the robbery of the working class to an unprecedented extent. At the same time, by abolishing the tariff agreements, they are trying to split up the resistance of the working class and to deprive it not only practically but also by law of all legal bases of resistance (the factory and shop committees). The robbers and slave-owners are *preparing for the workers conditions of penal servitude.*

The social-democratic party babbles lying revolutionary phrases; but in deed it serves fascism loyally, attempting to imbue the masses with the spirit of capitulation and defeatism and hold them back from immediate struggle.

Only the Communist Party calls on the workers to develop a struggle on a united class front *against the abolition by fascism of the social gains of the working class,* against the attack of capital, against fascism.

At the same time, it comes out consistently *against social-fascism,* which has done everything to turn the old tariff agreements into a noose for the workers, and to prepare the ground for the abolition of these agreements by fascism.

The situation is such that the Communists—if they are sufficiently active and skillful in their work, and have enough initiative—can draw the enormous masses of the social-democratic, non-party, and Christian workers, and even the workers who belong to the fascist trade-unions, into the struggle under the banner and the leadership of the Communists against fascism, which is abolishing the most important social gains of the working class. The situation is such that the Communists can stir up, organize, and lead a great strike movement in the shops and factories.

The capitalists will very soon begin to lower wages and worsen the conditions of labor in individual enterprises—without waiting for the law of January 12 to come into force (*i.e.,* on May 1). The law of January 12 makes mass organized resistance difficult by the fact that wage rates and conditions of labor will in the future be determined at different times, by each employer individually. However, it is certain that the *mass character of the future conflicts in the shops and factories will open* up to the Communists and the officials of the revolutionary trade-unions *the possibility of uniting the scattered demonstrations of the workers into a great strike movement.* This task in the struggle for leadership in every conflict, for the organization and expansion of the strike struggle—*the task of leading the masses to a general mass strike*—must in these conditions be considered by the Communists as the most important part of their work in the near future. The general strike can and must grow up on the basis of the

broad strike struggle in the individual shops and factories.

A broad strike movement—as a counter-attack of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism—can develop only if the Communists and the independent class trade unions advance *concrete economic partial demands,* especially the demand for *higher wages.* However, it would be a mistake in the present conditions to limit ourselves only to such economic demands. The uniting of the scattered actions of the workers in the individual shops and factories into a great strike movement culminating in a general strike, will be really successful only if, from the very beginning, along with these economic demands, the movement is given a *revolutionary character*—assuming the form of a struggle first and foremost against the penal servitude law of January 12, against the entire system of the fascist dictatorship.

Today, *as never before,* success in the struggle depends on the strength and initiative of the party organizations of the C.P.G. *in the shops and factories,* and especially in the *big* shops and factories. More than ever before, the present situation demands an intensification of the shop, factory, and trade-union work of the C.P.G.; this work is a necessary prerequisite for the organization by the Communists of a strike struggle on a more or less wide scale.

The fascist henchmen of the Tiessens and Krupps know very well the danger that threatens them from the Communist Party. Therefore, on the one hand, they employ frantic demagogy, maintaining that the law of January 12 is a "piece of socialism," and on the other hand, they resort to a monstrous intensification of terror. Himmler, the chief leader of the defense troops and the commander of the political police in all parts of Germany except Prussia, published a reminder in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* of January 12, in which he said:

> "As before, the main work of the political police is directed against Marxist organizations which continue to struggle against us even from underground. The Communists have no doubt promoted a new leadership which works very carefully and cunningly."

Our class enemy admits that the Communist Party of Germany is fighting successfully for the establishment of a united revolutionary front of struggle against fascism and capitalism. The Communists must *use the law of January 12 with the object of broadening and consolidating this united front in the class struggle of the proletariat.*

The law of January 12 aims at establishing in Germany the conditions of labor of the age of early capitalism. Engels gave a masterful description of the situation of the English workers in the forties of last century, and told the English bourgeoisie where this path would lead them:

> "Driven to despair the proletarians will take to the torch as preached by Stephens; the revenge of the people will break out with a fury which will put into the shade 1793." (Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England.*)

However, in contradistinction to 1793, this will be a revenge of the people, which will lead to the establishment of a soviet power—to the final abolition of the whole structure of wage slavery—to the victory of socialism.

Recommended for Further Reading on the Situation in Germany

The Present Situation in Germany—*By O. Piatnitsky*	**10c**
Social-Democracy—Stepping Stone to Fascism—*By D. Z. Manuilsky*	**5c**
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ONCE MORE ABOUT WORK IN THE REFORMIST AND FASCIST UNIONS[1]

By O. PIATNITSKY

WHEN Lenin in 1920, during the period in which the proletariat took direct revolutionary action, devoted a special chapter in his historical work *Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism* to the question of the necessity to work in reactionary unions, he had before him but a few instances of refusal on the part of "left" Communists to carry on such work. However, even then he foresaw the danger that might arise from Communists refusing to work in mass organizations which had been seized by the enemy. Today we see the consequences of this "leftism" practiced by some Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. I think, however, that even the functionaries of the revolutionary trade-union movement not only then, but even now underestimate the importance of this question.

We are today attending the Enlarged Meeting of the R.I.L.U. Executive Bureau. One of the most important questions on the agenda is the question of work in the reformist unions. But oh, how poor we are in this sphere! It would be no exaggeration if we say that practically nowhere, in no country, is work carried on in a real Bolshevik manner, that only lately have Communists begun to work a little in the reformist unions. That this work was almost completely ignored is an indisputable fact. And what are the results? The Communists and adherents of the R.I.L.U. in most countries surrendered the reformist trade unions to the trade-union bureaucrats almost without a fight, and thus not only isolated themselves from the broad working masses, in these unions, but rendered it possible for the agents of the bourgeoisie to pursue their treacherous policy unhindered. And the reformists in all countries made the best of this situation so favorable for them. The Executive Bureau, I think, must quite frankly admit this, must admit it in order to put an end to this scandalous state of affairs.

The question of work in the reformist unions is more acute today than it ever was before. We must bear in mind that as soon as the Communists will really begin to work in the reformist unions, measures will be adopted against them by the trade-union bureaucrats. In a number of countries such repressive measures were used even before when the R.I.L.U. adherents very poorly carried on this work. Now, in all probability, repressions will take on a sharper form. These repressions are already spreading to such countries which only recently had been considered comparatively "safe" in this respect, as, for example, Sweden. Therefore, we must even now prepare and make sure that these repressions do not catch us unawares, we must come to an understanding here on the tactics which Communists will have to adopt in the reformist unions, when they are expelled from them. I am of the opinion that R.I.L.U. adherents can and must sign any obligation which the trade-union bureaucrats force upon them under the threat of expulsion from the reformist unions. However, they must clearly understand that they do so not in order to "behave" like "good boys" in the reformist unions, as some Communists do, but to carry on their active, class, bolshevik work. Under such conditions we can sign any documents which the trade-union bureaucrats force upon us. But how must this tactic be carried out? It is necessary that the Communist Parties widely and in a popular manner explain this tactic to the broad working masses, let alone to members of the Party.

The experiences in Sweden must serve as a lesson in this respect. I believe that the directive issued by the C.C. of the Communist Party of Sweden to Communists instructing them to sign the obligations demanded from them by the reformist unions, was correct,—there was this mistake, however, that the Party was late with this directive, as a result of which several hundred revolutionary workers were expelled from the reformist unions. What was wrong in the carrying out of this tactic? The fact that the Communist Party of Sweden failed to explain to the broad working masses and even to its members why it issued such directives. The Communist Party of Sweden is legal, it has a number of daily papers, etc., and consequently, has the widest possibility of explaining its position to the workers. They should have been told what the situation is, namely, that: (1) the reformist unions support the social-democratic party, which is in power; (2) the social-democracy carries out all the measures of the bourgeoisie, while we, Communists, as is understood, have not and cannot have any common interests with the bourgeoisie; (3) precisely because the reformists actually go hand in hand with the bourgeoisie, they want to drive out all the adherents of the revolutionary T.U. movement, who expose their policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie and carry out the line of the class struggle in

[1] Speech at Enlarged Meeting of the R.I.L.U. Executive Bureau, December 16th, 1933.

the trade unions; (4) Communists, in the interests of freeing the workers from the influence of the reformist leaders, must on their part do everything in order to remain in the reformist unions, and even sign any obligations demanded of them by the trade-union bureaucrats, who are looking for pretexts to expel them; (5) while remaining in these unions, the Communists must fight there, defending the Communist line.

It was necessary concretely, plainly and comprehensively to show the workers how the reformist unions betray the interests of the working class, and had the workers understood this, matters would not have reached such a state, when Communists are driven out of these unions unhindered. You must understand that in Sweden, where almost 80 per cent of the proletariat is organized, Communists in leaving the reformist unions lose the arena of struggle, while the reformists are left free to do as they please, and have the possibility to betray the interests of the working class. Perhaps we shall have to change the outer forms of the work of the R.T.U.O., to give the R.T.U.O. another name, perhaps an absolutely "innocent" one, so as to be able to continue our work in the reformist unions. And if necessary, we must organize secret Communist Fractions in the reformist unions, in order that they group around them the R.I.L.U. adherents. We must now give instructions to the T.U. Oppositions, that should the necessity arise they can adopt such methods of work.

We must discuss this question, without fail now, from all sides. If you find this question a disputable one, let us dispute it. But if we do not overcome all the difficulties and formalities that the bourgeoisie and trade-union bureaucrats are putting in our way in order to hamper our work, all our decisions on the question of intensifying our work in the reformist trade unions will remain on paper. What sort of revolutionaries would we be if, because of some formalities we could not or would not work in the reformist unions?

Although the question here is about work in the reformist unions still we cannot help touching also the question of work in the factories — this cornerstone of all trade union work.

In order to intensify the work in the reformist unions we must work in the factories and also among the unemployed. Among the unemployed, and naturally, among the workers in the factories, there are members and adherents of the fascist and reformist unions, and, of course it is easiest to work among the workers in factories, paying special attention to work among members of fascist and reformist unions. We must miss no opportunity concretely to expose the treachery of the fascist and reformist trade-union bureaucrats before the workers, to expose the various forms and methods of these traitors in different periods (before the war, during the period of the relative stabilization of capitalism, at the beginning of the crisis, etc.). While uniting in the factories the unemployed, the workers who are dissatisfied with the policy of their leaders, we shall be able through them to extend our work both in the fascist as well as in the reformist trade unions. It is impossible here not to touch on the question of work in the factories, not to link up this work with the task of reinforcing our work in the reformist and fascist unions.

On the other hand, there are many instances when Communists and R.I.L.U. adherents fail to utilize their positions in the trade unions for intensifying their work in the factories. However, the work in the factories is closely linked up with the work in the trade unions. Let us take, for example, the work among the unemployed. Was it not possible to work among the unemployed members of reformist and fascist unions and unite them, explaining them the role of the reformist and fascist unions, which supported or carried out measures of rationalization of labor in times of crisis, measures for worsening insurance and lowering unemployed benefits? We could have developed this work, but not enough was done. In Germany and Italy work could have developed in connection with this question also among members of fascist factory and shop organizations (in some places these organizations have not died out altogether), and we could have united around this question part of the fascist workers. By uniting them for the struggle against unemployment and rationalization it is possible to weaken the influence of fascism over them, and to draw in the best of the workers into the revolutionary workers' organization.

There are some disputable questions concerning work inside the fascist unions. Some comrades say that in Italy today it is possible to work only in the fascist unions. This is not altogether true, for there are also other organizations to which workers belong. Some comrades say that it is possible successfully to work only when we succeed in organizing a "legal opposition in the fascist unions." I must admit, that I do not quite understand the way in which the question is presented. What does it mean—legal opposition in the fascist unions? I understand it in the sense, that our comrades come out openly at fascist trade union meetings and raise certain demands. Such a tactic is correct, this is how we must work. But how do the Communists or our adherents act before presenting these demands, what arrangements are made among themselves in connection with the demands which they are going to put up? This is another matter. Why, in order successfully to come out at a fascist trade union meeting it is necessary beforehand to asign

each his task, to decide, as to who and how is to speak, as to how this or that resolution is to be proposed. Is it possible to do this work legally? No, by no means. Which means, it must be done illegally. Evidently, in our work in fascist countries it is necessary to combine illegal preparation of questions of trade union work with legal action. I conceive this work as follows: In the factory or in the branch of the unions our comrades, Communists, both members as well as those who are not members of the fascist unions, draw up demands, discuss methods of work, etc. Numerous reasons can nowadays be found for presenting demands which are comprehensible to every worker: wage cuts, nonpayment of unemployment benefits to workers who are forced to pay insurance dues, new rationalization measures which raise the intensity of labor, etc. On this basis demands can be raised in the factory or even in the trade union at every step. Only it is necessary to agree beforehand on the methods for raising these demands, beforehand to divide the duties between the separate Communists or sympathizers. These demands must be raised at workers' meetings, mobilizing the workers on them. If, however, no such meetings are called, we must get the fascist unions to call them. Sometimes a non-Communist worker may come forward with our demands openly at a meeting, in order to raise some question, we must face the possibility of an arrest or dismissal of some Communist or member of the revolutionary T.U. movement. Such work too will mean the combining of two methods: illegal organization as well as illegal preparation of questions and plain speaking at the meetings, carrying on of individual or group agitation, etc. What are the advantages of such a method of work? With such a method of work, that is, of course if it is correctly carried out, in the worst case only the one who comes out at the meeting might suffer, while the rest of the organization remain unharmed and can continue the work. If the Italian comrades, referring to a legal opposition, have in view this kind of work, then, and only then, is the tactic they propose correct. By the the way, it is high time that the Italian comrades come out here and tell us concretely, how they carry on their work by now.

If in the fascist unions there are elements who are dissatisfied with the policy of these unions, and, surely there must be such elements there, for apart from their entire policy of open coercion, the fascist unions take part in the cutting of workers' wages, in introducing rationalization measures under conditions of widespread unemployment, etc.—then the Communists and members of the illegal Confederation of Labor must help these opposition elements to crystalize into a legal opposition in the fascist unions, and through this opposition to attempt to popularize the slogans of the Party and the Confederation of Labor.

In Germany the situation is somewhat different. The basic task in connection with the dissolution of the existing fascized reformist unions by the fascists is the organization of independent unions in all industries, in all cities, even in separate factories. It goes without saying that along with this, it is necessary to utilize those basic trade union organizations, which now are called fascist, but which according to their composition are most likely still reformist, to win them over and turn them into Independent unions. This is not a disputable question. But the fascists in Germany are now setting up a Labor Front, where they intend to accept individual workers and employers. While calling upon the workers not to join the Labor Front our adherents must also work among those workers who have joined it; their aim must be to mobilize the workers, members of the Labor Front, against the fascists and for this purpose refer to the worsening conditions of the workers, the fascists' failure to keep their promises, etc. In some provinces the fascists carry through the following measures: with the object of reducing unemployment, the fascists compel the enterprises, employing up to 15 workers to take on one unemployed; those employing up to 50 workers, to take on 3 unemployed, etc. But on what conditions do the employers hire these unemployed? They pay them only 50 per cent of the wages, and the other 50 per cent has to be paid by the workers and employees of the given enterprise. There is no need to mention the fact that the employer squeezes out of these newly-hired unemployed the same surplus value as he does out of the other workers. Is it possible to mobilize the workers on such a ground? Is it possible on such a ground to mobilize also the members of the Labor Front who are workers belonging to fascist organizations in the factories? It is quite possible and necessary. When we had an R.T.U.O. in Germany before the fascists came to power, we saw that although it had carried on a certain useful work, it did it almost entirely outside of the reformist unions. I am afraid that if we begin to organize independent trade unions, now, too, work among members of the Labor Front or in fascist organizations in the factories will be neglected. But work in these organizations must be carried on so that the work and struggle of the independent trade unions may be supported through them. For the independent unions will formulate demands, will organize strikes, will carry on propaganda and agitation, etc. But should we fail to exercise influence in the factories among the members of the fascist organizations, then the strikes will not bear a mass character, our demands will be

responded to only by narrow circles of workers. The absence of our influence in these organizations will make it possible for the fascists, quite unhindered, to drive out of the factories those revolutionary workers who will take part in strikes. What is most important is that if we fail to carry on work in the fascist mass workers' organizations (Labor Front, "*Kraft Durch Freude*," ("Strength Through Joy," youth and women's organizations, sport organizations and forced-labor camps), it will be impossible to rree the backward workers and employees from the influence of the fascists and organize them for the struggle against the fascists. It is therefore, imperative to combine work in the fascist organizations with the founding of illegal trade unions, The mistake of the German comrades was, that having organized an R.T.U.O., they neglected work in the reformist unions. This mistake must be avoided today in relation to the fascist unions.

The German Communists must work also among the unorganized, all the more so, since there will be more unorganized in Germany now than ever before. Our work, however, must be concentrated mainly on members of the Labor Front, of the fascist organizations in the enterprises and outside the enterprises, because honest workers too join these organizations in the hope that in this way they will avoid beatings, arrests, dismissals and other repressions.

And in all probability these honest workers will not refuse to participate in the struggle if we properly organize it. Many of them, I am convinced, will come over to us with the upsurge of the movement. But in order to accelerate their coming over to us, we must work among them. In the future we must avoid the one-sidedness that formerly existed in our work.

In Poland the situation considerably differs from the situation in other countries. In Poland we are approaching a revolutionary crisis. The mass movement there has developed very extensively. At the same time, there in our trade union work we have special difficulties which are not met with in other countries. What are these difficulties? The incredibly scattered state of the organized workers—there are four trade union federations and all of them have a mass following. The basic mass of the workers occupied in the leading branches of industry, are in the organizations of our enemies. This is the main hindrance to our winning over the majority of the working class, a hindrance which the Party must overcome at all costs.

What is characteristic of the present-day movement in Poland? There is a powerful strike movement, the Communists and left trade union opposition exercise tremendous influence over these strikes. In most cases they actually direct the work of the strike committees. But the influence won by the Party as a result of its conducting the strikes, irrespective of their results, is in no way consolidated and no conditions are even created for consolidating this influence. Some might draw the conclusion: once we fail to utilize the leadership of strikes for consolidating our influence, we might as well give up that leadership. Such conclusions would be absolutely wrong and extremely harmful. On the contrary, we must strive to win the leadership of any strike, thus extending our influence among the workers and consolidating it.

How can Communists and R.I.L.U. adherents consolidate their influence? The number of trade union organizations under revolutionary leadership is extremely small. Furthermore, the greater part of these unions in Poland are illegal and it is impossible to draw large numbers of workers into them. Which means that it is not mainly in this way that we can consolidate our influence. New forms must be found. These other forms can only be the existing mass trade union organizations, *i.e.*, the P.S.P. unions, the nationalist and fascist unions, in which we must work. This is the root of the question.

But is it possible for us to consolidate our positions in the P.S.P. unions? I answer, yes, it is. Let us take, for example, the strikes organized and won by the R.T.U.O., despite and against the wishes of the reformist and nationalist leaders, who had hindered these strikes. These strikes are utilized by the reformists for their own ends. Is it possible to organize inside the P.S.P. unions an opposition on the basis of successes won by us in strikes? Quite possible. In these unions we must organize around our adherents—and there are very many of our adherents there—a wide opposition, to fight against the leadership and to wage a struggle for every elective position. Work in these unions must be carried on systematically, and we must not draw the conclusion that we must get the workers who sympathize with us to leave these unions. Why? Because past experience has shown us that when we succeeded in some countries in winning over trade union branches, which sometimes had as many as a thousand members each, and made haste to transfer these branches won over by us to our union, one part of the membership would soon drop out and return to the old union, which they had left and where we no longer carried on any work. Only the active members, connected with the Communist Party, remained with us. But these active members were always ours. Is it more important from the viewpoint of the development of the revolutionary trade union movement for these active members to remain in our union and not in the reformist? No! They must be left in the reformist union, striving to win over the entire given

union or the given branch of the union, and when they have strong positions in some branch of the union they could fight for winning over the majority of the whole union or even of other unions. Such work must prepare the soil, so that in the decisive struggle we have the support of this or the other organization, and are sure that it will follow us. Let the leadership of the organization temporarily remain in the hands of the enemy, this does not decide the matter, for the leadership without the basic organization is a mere nothing. Today only in Poland have we such a possibility of consolidating our influence among the masses on a large scale. Therefore it is particularly important to remain and work in the unions of the enemy.

At the same time in conducting strikes, as well as in the course of their work in the reformist unions, the Communists and the members of the R.T.U.O. must under no circumstances hide the face of the Party; on the contrary whenever opportunity permits, they must emphasize that the given strike, the given work is carried out on the instructions of the Party or the R.T.U.O. And only in this way will we be able to rally the best elements to the side of the Party and the R.T.U.O. The Communist Party of Poland is an illegal party, it cannot build legal, broad unions. Therefore, until the proper moment arrives, it must consolidate its positions in the mass organizations of the enemy, must have its reserves there, must create its stronghold there. But in winning over these organizations it must make sure that when the proper moment comes, it will have behind it the broad masses who will answer its call despite and against the trade union bureaucrats.

Does this mean that we must not build and strengthen our trade union organizations wherever possible? By no means. We must distribute our forces so as to provide all sections of our work. We must be able to do so, for otherwise how can we ever raise the question of seizing power? We are here discussing the question of work inside the fascist unions. Both the draft resolution and the comrades who spoke so far are for getting our adherents to leave the fascist unions. But I ask—where are you going to transfer them to? If we had parallel legal unions of our own, we could transfer them there, but there are not any. Must you transfer our adherents from the fascist unions to the P.S.P. unions? Sometimes, of course, we can and must leave the fascist unions. But if we take a concrete country, in this case Poland, and the concrete stage of development of the class struggle, then we must take into consideration what elements will respond to our call for leaving the fascist unions. They will be those who sympathize with us, *i.e.*, elements who have become disillusioned in their fascist leaders.

In solving the problem of the fascist unions we must take into consideration the different periods of their development. The first period, when the bourgeoisie only begins to build them; then the task of our Party is to do everything in its power to convince the workers not to join these fascist unions, explaining to them the real aims and tasks of these unions. In Poland the followers of Pilsudski began to organize trade unions when, on the one hand, they began to lose their mass basis among the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and, on the other hand, when the P.S.P. nationalist and other unions were no longer in a position to safeguard the fascist dictatorship against the growing mass discontent of the workers. The whole history of recent years shows that the workers, organized in the P.S.P. unions, together with the Communists, against the wishes of the P.S.P. leaders, are fighting against the bourgeoisie and the fascist dictatorship. Recent strikes have shown with particular clarity that the Communist Party is succeeding in wresting the leadership of these strikes from the hands of the P.S.P. and nationalist unions and in creating the united front of struggle. This is why the fascists are beginning to set up trade unions apart from the P.S.P. unions in order to embrace the workers of the large-scale enterprises in the most important branches of industry: in the metal industry, especially at the war plants, in the chemical industry, on the transport, etc., which play such an important part in time of war.

Thus, during the first period, when the Pilsudskiites are only beginning to organize fascist unions, we must wage an energetic struggle against the workers joining these unions. But if in spite of our efforts such unions have been organized, embracing considerable masses of the workers, then the second period sets in, when active work inside these unions must be carried on without fail. Yes, I am of the opinion that we must remain in the fascist unions and fight there for our influence, and not only for our influence, but for the leadership of these unions in the factories. Is this possible? It is.

The Polish proletariat has a great revolutionary history—also in Czarist times it fought side by side with the Russian proletariat. In no other country except Poland did the Communist Party succeed in leading all the big movements of the workers on such a wide scale, in spite of the different trade union organizations of the enemy. I do not believe that the secret service department could pick and choose tens of thousands of workers for the factories and plants of the war industry. This is impossible. Of course, among these workers there might be some provocateurs, but in general these masses consist of honest misled workers, whom we can, through good systematic work, win over to our side. And I repeat, if we do not succeed in dissuading these workers from joining the unions created by the fascists, then

we must work inside these unions. There is no other way.

How must we work in these unions? We must react to all the vital needs of the workers and make such proposals which can be understood by every worker, proposals for which he will be ready to fight. We must mobilize the workers for such demands as pay for accidents, unemployment benefit, etc. Or, for example, in connection with the collection of membership dues through the administration, we must raise the question before them—where does this money go to, why is it not used for satisfying the real needs of the workers, for sick benefits, for unemployment relief, for creches, for the building of clubs, etc. Every worker will understand us then, will support these demands, will follow us. We must not be frightened by the fact that the executives of the unions will be appointed by fascists. If we will work well, then the fascists themselves will regret having organized these unions. We can and must win over the workers in these unions to our side and at the necessary moment have them with us for carrying on strikes and other forms of mass action. While raising the vital, everyday demands of the workers, we must link them up with the tactic, program and slogans of the Communist Party, with the program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, with the organization of the struggle for power.

Must we say that we refuse to remain in these unions because they are fascist, that we want to be independent and want to join some other legal union, be it even a small one? I once again repeat that I would consider this a mistake. We must go nowhere, but hold fast to the influence we have among the workers in the fascist unions and factories.

We will not get the workers to leave. This will remain nothing but empty words, leftist tricks, and nothing more, for the workers will be afraid that if they leave the fascist union they will be thrown out of the factories.

This question, it seems, is a debatable one. Very well, let us discuss it. Already at the Plenum, when Comrade Henrichowsky spoke, I said that I do not agree with our leaving the fascist unions. Should elections take place in the fascist unions in the factories, must our comrades go into these elected organs? Yes, they must. If we succeed in getting a majority on some executives, and if we work well on them, work so that the workers see that we really carry on correct and good work, that we not only wish but are able to defend the interests of the working class, then they will not so easily let the fascists dissolve such elected executives and in the future will not so easily let them appoint executives.

Once more I want to stress the question of our struggle against the *creation* of fascist unions. In those places where such unions have as yet not been organized, we approach the P.S.P. and other existing unions, although we know that they are not much better than the fascist unions, with the proposal to establish the united front of struggle against the organization of fascist unions. But, if fascist unions have already been organized, and our forces proved insufficient to prevent the organization of such unions, then we must make it our aim to win them over.

Until very recently the experience which many of us had in connection with this question showed that we carried on no work in the fascist mass trade unions. And as a matter of fact, not only in the fascist unions. We talked a lot about work in the reformist unions, but it was the reformists who really worked and not we. Now we must talk less and work more, we must establish a base not only in the reformist, but also in the fascist unions.

There is undoubtedly discontent among the members of the reformist trade unions in *England*. But in England the situation is different—there the reformist unions are actually also a political party. The overwhelming majority of the reformist unions are affiliated as unions to the Labor Party. Take the trade unions away from the Labor Party and practically nothing remains of it, except about 5-10 per cent individual members, chiefly belonging to the petty bourgeoisie. Thus, the Labor Party, which was in power twice, and which will in all probability form another government after the coming general elections, consists as a matter of fact of the trade unions. Consequently the approach to the reformist unions in England must be of an even more serious nature than in other countries. All the attempts made by the revolutionary trade union opposition recently to consolidate its positions in the reformist unions yielded only partial results. The Minority Movement soared in the air, but did not carry on any work in the reformist unions.

Recently the Communist Party of England has adopted a new method of work, in creating a broad "Rank-and-File Movement," which is particularly developing its activities during strikes. But this movement usually appears on the scene after a strike is already on. It rendered aid during strikes, but in the majority of cases, with the ending of these strikes the activity of this movement drops. The influence won by us in the course of strikes is not consolidated. How can we consolidate our influence? For example, a textile workers' strike was declared in Manchester. We mobilized all Communist textile workers, who began to help the strike. But while the Communists concentrate all their energy on the strike so that it may lead to the satisfying of all the demands that were raised, their aim must be to work in such a way that the strike, irrespective of whether it is won or lost, leads to an upsurge in the

class consciousness of the workers, to a growth in their organization, to the growth of the political and organizational influence of the Communist Party. And for this purpose it is imperative that the Communists should untiringly carry on political work among the strikers, utilizing all the possibilities which their active and self-denying participation in the given strike offers them. Whether the strike is successful or not—they must in both cases expose the role of the trade union bureaucrats, in every way popularizing the Trade Union Opposition and Communist Party of England. They must acquaint the new strata of workers with the program and tactics of the Communist Party (about the existence of which part of the strikers probably never heard before), with the *Daily Worker*, the daily organ of this Party, they must explain to the workers that the Communist Party is the only party which defends the interests of the working class, and that precisely for this reason it renders aid to the strikers. While carrying on such explanatory work it is necessary to ask the workers the question whether any of the strikers want to join the Communist Party and fight in its ranks for the defense of the interests of the working class. Those who express such a wish must without any hesitation be accepted in the Party: why, the workers went on strike, which means they are ready to fight; the best of them must be accepted in the Party, while a broader circle of non-party active people must be formed around the Party organizations. Strikers who are members of reformist unions must be organized into a special group, which could carry on work in the reformist unions under our leadership. And if at the given factory there happens to be no reformist branch of the union, we must none the less recruit our adherents into the respective reformist unions of the given locality or city, provided, of course, there is no revolutionary union in the given industry. (If the latter proposal seems a disputable one, let us discuss it.) This must be done in order to establish a base in the reformist union of the given locality through our adherents in the given factory. And such work will lead to the real consolidation of the influence won by us as a result of our leadership in the strike. This will mean that not only do we hastily throw our forces into a district in the case of emergency, when a strike movement is pending, and as hastily withdraw from the district immediately the strike is over, but that we really draw new strata of workers into political life. Our task is not only to help the strike, but to extend and consolidate our influence over the working masses on the basis of the aid we render. If, for example, there are no Communist textile workers in Manchester, then we have to mobilize Communists from among the busmen, metal workers or Party members of other trades to help the strikers. Such organization of aid will be quite comprehensible to the workers. Communists who are not textile workers, and who are actively helping the strike, must organizationally consolidate their influence among the strikers, just as Communist textile workers would have done. Only in this way will the Trade Union Opposition and Communists get a footing in the factories, in the unions, among the workers whom we helped, with whom we spoke, to whom we gave literature. Only by consolidating our influence will the Trade Union Opposition grow. Also in this way will we be able to win elective positions in the reformist unions.

I remember our conversation with Comrade Pollitt two years ago, when he said: "It was easier for you to overthrow the Czar than for us to overthrow the trade union officials, for they are elected for a lifetime." This is not quite so, the Czar was not elected at all, but handed over the power to his sons by right of inheritance. I think that Comrade Pollitt at that time was not right. Why, the revolutionary workers were able at the elections to win 10,000 votes for Comrade Horner, true, in three rounds. They were able to consolidate their position among the busmen, where there was a solidarity movement, to strengthen their position on the executive of the busmen's union and get five of our adherents elected to the executive out of a total number of six. Thus, we see that it is possible to fight for elective posts in England, although trade union officials there are elected for life, but is it not possible to discredit them through effective exposure? If Communists as a result of their work succeed in discrediting the trade union official to an extent that it is impossible for him to show his face in the workers' organization, will he then be able to continue to hold his elective position? In my opinion he will not. Let him continue to consider himself as the elected official, but actually, however, another person will be elected to whom the workers will apply, whom the workers will listen to and whose instructions they will carry out. Is it possible to do this? Yes, it is. The only possibility really to consolidate our positions in the reformist union is to fight for elective posts. This is how the question stood at the Tenth and Twelfth Plenums of the E.C.C.I. It remains correct also today, there is not and there cannot be any other possibility.

However, is it enough only to fight for elective positions? No, it is not. We had in Germany Red factory committees, we fought for the electing of our candidates to them. But after our candidates were elected no one any longer cared about their work in the factory committees and in most cases they worked no better than the reformists. This did not help to extend or consolidate our influence. The workers did not see any difference between us and

the reformists, and therefore preferred the reformists, since the latter at least do the trade union routine work.

Take the question of Comrade Horner. We got him elected, but how will he work—as a reformist or as a Communist? We have five comrades on the executive of the Busmen's Union, we got them elected, but how will they work, as reformists or as Communists? Here is the crux of the matter. By this I do not of course mean to doubt the work of Comrade Horner and the five members of the executive of the Busmen's Union, who were elected on the ticket of the "Rank-and-File Movement." I take them merely as examples. The Party and the Trade Union Opposition must guide the work of those whom they put forward and for whom they are responsible before the workers. Live contact, live connection must be maintained constantly between the Party and the Trade Union Opposition and their candidates. And in the event of these candidates failing in their work to carry out the line of the class struggle, then the C.C. of the Communist Party and the leadership of the Trade Union Opposition must openly dissociate themselves from them, in order that the working masses should know that, although the Party and the Trade Union Opposition were responsible for the candidature of this or that official, they will renounce him immediately he follows the path of reformist practice. I emphasize, if this were to happen. It is important to state that we must constantly tell the working masses what our policy is. Our Party and the Trade Union Opposition must take care of the elected comrades, must give them the materials necessary for their work, must individually work with every one of them, must together with them outline the methods, content and character of their work, must help them correct mistakes committed by them. Should all this prove of no avail the Communist Party and Trade Union Opposition will have to appeal to the workers against the wrong actions of those elected officials.

Now with regard to *France*. We have stated tens of times, and today can state once more, that no systematic work is carried on in the reformist unions in France, that neither the Party nor the Unitarian unions carry on any work. Now it is precisely in France that we have the possibility to work in the reformist unions, even through the Red unions. Under what conditions could we successfully work there? Only if our Red unions worked better than the reformist, if they carried on the tedious mass work, if they undertook at least to explain to the workers under what conditions they can get accident insurance, sick benefits and unemployment relief; if the Unitarian unions during the organization of struggle raised slogans that answered the needs of the masses, if they prepared and declared strikes and in the course of the development of such strikes drew the broad strata of workers into the strike struggle against the will of the reformists; if in all circumstances they proved able to establish the united front of struggle, etc. Then and only then would the Unitarian unions prove to the members of the reformist unions that they are better than the reformists and the reformist workers would follow them.

If the workers do not see us in the factory, in the plant, and if the Red union in many cases does not differ in its work from the reformist union, if it joins the strike after it had been declared, if there is no active life in the union, and if the Red union hands out less benefits than does the reformist union, then why should the worker go to the Red union? Consequently only by improving our work can we strengthen our activities in the reformist unions, even wrest from them whole organizations (in France in certain instances I stand for wresting whole organizations from the reformists). The question of France is a special question. There we can more easily secure big achievements in our work. There we have comparatively strong Unitarian unions, we have a Party with a more or less broad basis, we have a few hundred thousand readers of our daily press. It is possible to improve the work among the reformist unions, and this must be done even if it is necessary to organize special committees or sections at the executives of the Unitarian unions or Party committees. The question today does not stand as it did two years ago, the moment is extremely acute, matters must not be delayed.

There is no doubt that in Germany we lost a great deal on account of our failure to work in the reformist unions and now we must make up for lost ground.

In all countries the Communist Parties must work and consolidate their positions in all working-class organizations, so that at the time of big events the Communist Parties should have their members, their nuclei in the factories, their fractions in the reformist organizations. It is necessary to work and consolidate our positions so that the reformists remain with their leaderships, while we have the basic reformist organizations and, when the proper moment arrives, are able to lead these organizations to battle. In a number of countries the question of the seizure of power by the working class is becoming an urgent task and we must therefore reorganize our ranks accordingly. Our work must absolutely take another direction. If a year ago we talked a lot and did little, adopted resolutions but failed to carry them out, today we must not lose even one minute in our work. If those Communists who are now chiefly responsible for the state of trade union work are unable to organize this work and consolidate our positions in the mass working-class organizations, first and foremost in the reformist and fascist unions, then their place will have to be taken by others.

SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(*Speech of* EARL BROWDER *at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.*)

THE situation of the United States confirms most strikingly the correctness of the draft thesis before us, when it speaks of "the tremendous strain of the internal antagonism . . . as well as of the international antagonisms". The policies of the Roosevelt administration, known as the "New Deal", called into being by the crisis and by these "tremendous strains", have by no means softened these strains and antagonisms, but on the contrary have intensified them. Precisely the period of the Roosevelt regime has marked not alone the sharpening of the international relations of the U.S., but also the internal class relations.

Roosevelt's policy called for "national concentration" and "class peace". But in spite of the apparent surface successes of his regime, even the "honeymoon period" of the New Deal has been marked by rising mass struggles, by great class battles, by a radicalization of large sections of all the toiling masses of the population. The protracted strikes of 70,000 or more miners in Pennsylvania, Utah and New Mexico; the long strike of 60,000 silk workers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania; the many strikes of steel workers, penetrating into the heart of the steel industry around Pittsburgh; and the hundreds of smaller strikes, in almost all industries and regions, increasing in numbers and intensity from March to October—all disclose the hollowness of the "civil peace" of the Roosevelt New Deal, resulting from the fact that *N.R.A.* while promising wage increases, actually made a general wage-cut of exceptional severity. The mass struggles of the bankrupted farmers, quieted for a few months by the promises of the Agricultural Act and a moratorium on debt foreclosures, are breaking out again on a large scale and with full sharpness with the disclosures that the Roosevelt "allotment plan" has failed to meet a single one of the problems faced by the poor farmers. Even the middle classes are stirring with unrest, under the pressure of continued expropriations carried out by the closing of many hundreds of small banks, by the rapid progress of trustification in all lines, and by wholesale inflation. Never before in modern times has the "strain of internal class antagonisms" in the U.S. been so sharp and so general.

Characteristic for the whole system of policies known as the New Deal is their nature as preparations for war. The economic contents of these measures are those of war economy. The famous three-billion-dollar building program turns out in reality to be a program of Navy building, mechanization of the Army, building of military roads, and the putting into operation of the Muscle Shoals explosive plant abandoned at the close of the World War. The "unemployment relief" program turns out to be first of all the setting up of a network of military training camps, under the direction of the War Department, where 300,000 young men are being prepared for the Army. The *National Recovery Administration* follows the pattern laid down by the War Industries Board of the World War. Never before has there been such gigantic war preparations at a time when the "enemy" is as yet unnamed. Simultaneously, U.S. oppression of the colonies and semi-colonies takes on sharper forms, as the resistance of the colonial masses grows; witness the fifty million dollars loan to Chiang Kai-shek to finance the anti-Soviet campaign, the naval concentration in Latin-American waters, and especially in Cuba, where the anti-imperialist revolution has already partially broken through the chain of American imperialist puppet-governments.

If we witness all these developments during what may be called the "honeymoon" period of the Roosevelt regime, when the illusions created by an unprecedented demagogy were bolstered up for a time by a rapid rise in production stimulated by an enormous speculative market (the flight from the dollar)—then we have every reason to expect the growth and intensification of class conflicts, and of all the contradictions of capitalism, now when the Roosevelt program has already exposed its inability to improve the condition of the masses, when production against declines precipitately, when rising prices and inflation cut further sharply into the living standards of the masses, and when demagogy is rapidly being reinforced with a sharp development of fascist ideology and terror directed against the struggling masses.

International social-fascism has hailed the Roosevelt policies as "steps in the direction of socialism". The British Labor Party and Trade Union Congress have adopted the Roosevelt program as their own, demanding that it be imitated in Britain. In this way they are but continuing, in the period of crisis, that complete ideological subordination to the bourgeoisie which, during the period of American prosperity created out of the figure of Henry Ford the reformist "saviour". The American Socialist Party has not lagged behind in this respect; Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit hastened to pay a public visit to Roosevelt, upon his assumption of office, to congratulate him upon his policies, which they hailed as noth-

ing less than a "revolution" in the interests of the masses.

But the fascist direction in which the Roosevelt policies are carrying the U.S. is becoming clear to the whole world. Nowhere is this more manifest than in the efforts to merge the reformist American Federation of Labor into the machinery of government, under the avowed banner of the fascist conception of the "corporate state", prohibition of strikes, compulsory arbitration, governmental fixing of wages, and even control of the inner life of the trade unions. For the edification of the masses this was spoken of as a "partnership of capital and labor, together with the government". Under this program the A.F. of L. is given governmental support and even financial assistance, and a determined effort is made to control and eventually choke off the strike movement, by driving the workers into the A.F. of L. where it is hoped the official leadership will be able to bring the masses under control.

THE A.F. OF L. AND THE T.U.U.L.

During 1933 over a million workers have engaged in strikes. From six to eight hundred thousand workers have come into the various trade unions; of these, between four and six hundred thousand were recruited into the A. F. of L., about one hundred thousand into the Red Trade Unions of the Trade Union Unity League, and one hundred thousand into newly formed independent unions opposed to the A. F. of L. but not yet prepared to enter the Red Trade Unions

Of outstanding importance to us is the fact that the A.F. of L. has grown by about a half million members, placing very sharply before us the urgent task of organizing a mass revolutionary opposition and overcoming all hesitations in our ranks towards this work. This growth has resulted from the mass illusions built up around the N.R.A. from the direct support of the Government, which looks upon the A. F. of L. as its main support within the working class. The A. F. of L. was able to capitalize these illusions and the mass faith in Roosevelt. It must be said, however, that the bourgeoisie has been disappointed by the performance of the A. F. of L. which could not control the masses nor prevent the strike movement, nor recruit such masses as was expected of them.

The comparative failure of the A. F. of L. to recruit the great masses or control the strike movement arises from a number of factors; first, not all capitalists accepted the government policy, and especially in the basic industries most employers preferred to establish "company unions" instead of the A. F. of L. or even to continue to refuse to have any kind of union at all in their plants. Second, the crude and open strike-breaking policy of the A. F. of L. repelled large numbers of workers ready to join but disillusioned by their first contacts. Third, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which is of tremendous size, with 15,000 full-time paid officials, has, to a great extent, become so parasitically corrupted and degenerated by their past life, that it is incapable of the energetic activity demanded by a mass recruitment campaign, to the great disgust of the more virile leaders in the Roosevelt administration. And fourthly, the A. F. of L. unions have, in many places, been captured by the underworld gangs, turned into typical American "rackets", dealing in blackmail and bribery on a huge scale, and become incapable of conducting mass policy on the scale contemplated in the Roosevelt program; it is interesting to read, for example, the complaints in the stenograms of the last A. F. of L. Convention, voiced by the leader of the Chicago teamster's union, who revealed that his union office must be fortified with steel plate and constantly protected by armed guards to prevent the dues payments from being seized by underworld gangs and even to prevent these gangs from taking possession of union elections and assuming the union offices. Revolt among the two and a half million members of the A. F. of L. against these primitive, semi-feudal conditions, not to speak of the more complicated betrayal of the no-strike policy and the New Deal, has been stimulated by the rising wave of mass struggles and by the influx of the half million new members. This, combined with the beginnings of more systematic and energetic work by the Communists inside the reformist unions, has played a great role in the development of the strike movement among the A. F. of L. workers, and begins to crystallize again into a broad revolutionary opposition movement. This becomes even more important when we see the determined policy of the bourgeoisie to bring forward the A. F. of L. especially in every case where the workers are mobilized in struggle and organized into the Red trade unions.

The growth in the trade unions, and in the strike movement, after four years of decline during the first years of the crisis, is of tremendous significance to our Party. This is all the more true, when we see the character of the strike movement. With only a few exceptions, these strikes were directed not only against the employers for economic demands; they were also strikes against the official leaders of the American Federation of Labor, they were against the operations of the N.R.A. and the Labor Boards set up by the Government—that is, they were also political strikes. This was true of almost all the strikes, whether of A. F. of L. members, of the Red unions, or of the independent unions. From this situation it followed that, when our Party (after some hesitations) began boldly to develop work inside the A. F. of L. as oppositions in combination with the independent building of the Red unions, even in the same industries and fields, and also to build independent

unions where the workers hesitated to join the Red unions, our Communist and sympathizing forces played a constantly growing role in the whole strike movement. Thus it is that we have 45 per cent of all strikers (during 10 months of 1933) members of the A. F. of L. but fighting in opposition to their officials and the government, and to a growing extent openly following the lead of the Red unions, even while remaining in the A. F. of L.

THE STRIKE MOVEMENT AND THE RED TRADE UNIONS

Very significant also is the comparatively large role played in the strike movement directly by the small Red unions. With about 40,000 members at the beginning of July, they rose in membership to 70,000 by September, and now stand at approximately 125,000, having recruited about 100,000 and having lost about 15,000 during the same period. The Red unions are thus about 5 per cent of the volume of membership of the A. F. of L. But these small unions directly led 20 per cent of all strikers, and indirectly influenced in a decisive manner more than half the struggles of the A. F. of L. members and the independent unions.

During the strike movement, conditions often changed very quickly, making necessary quick changes of tactics on our part. At first we were very slow in recognizing the changed situation and adjusting our tactics. Thus in the Pennsylvania mine fields, our Red miners union led the strike struggles of April and May directly, but after the establishment of the *N.R.A.*, the reformist United Mine Workers Union (A. F. of L.) swept through the field with a broad recruitment campaign, and our Red union members (without even consulting us) went along with the masses, and together with them organized the strike movement of July and thereafter through the local unions of the U.M.W.A. We were slow in reorientating ourselves to work mainly through the reformist union, and therefore were weakened quite seriously for a period, and we are only now beginning to reestablish our forces organizationally in that field. During the same period, the coalfields of Utah and New Mexico were completely organized in our Red Miners' Union, which led long strikes, holding the miners solidly in the face of military rule and the jailing of most of our leaders. Even in these fields, however, we were also forced to maneuver, as for example in Utah; there, the protracted strike and military persecution caused some of these new and untrained forces to weaken and hesitate and to consider the possibility of settling the strike by joining the reformist U.M.W.A. Just as we left America it became necessary to give directives to our Utah comrades, that if a split of the miners became a serious threat, we should avoid this by taking the entire body of miners unitedly over from the Red union into the reformist U.M.W.A.

The silk textile strike furnished most interesting and valuable experiences, in a different form. In the beginning, the workers were also entirely unorganized. The strike began in Paterson, New Jersey, called by local leaders of the A. F. of L. as a means of organization with expectations of a quick return to work and settlement through arbitration of the N.R.A. Both the A. F. of L. and the Red textile union began with only a few hundred members. The employers threw in their influence to drive the workers into the A. F. of L. telling the workers that only the A. F. of L. could ever gain a settlement with them. As a result, the workers in their large majority joined the A.F. of L.; among them was a considerable sympathy for the Red unions, but they lacked confidence that they could win a favorable settlement, while they were influenced by the illusions that the A. F. of L., through its support by the Government and bourgeois press, created for them more favorable conditions. We maintained our Red union throughout the strike, however, even though a minority, and fought for unification of the strike committees and picket lines. The open efforts of the A. F. of L. leaders to sell out the strike, repeated several times, were each time defeated by almost unanimous votes of all workers, in each case under the leadership of the small Red union. The result was that the influence of our Red union continued to grow in the ranks of the A. F. of L., who more and more looked to the Red union for a lead on all questions, even though they remained formally within the A. F. of L. This influence became so decisive that when a large mass delegation was elected to go to Washington, to place the demands of the strikers before the National Labor Board, even the A. F. of L. leaders were forced to accept Ann Burlak and John Ballam, the two main leaders of the small Red union, as the leaders and spokesmen of the mass delegation, while the bourgeois press and employers openly declared that it was impossible to settle the strike unless they dealt with the Red union at the same time. The A. F. of L. leaders were forced by the workers to discontinue their attacks upon the leaders of the Red union, and at the most decisive meeting the workers drove their leaders off the platform and invited our comrades to speak to them. These events were a revelation of the tremendous possibilities of a correct application of the united front tactic in strike struggles; they also showed how work within the A. F. of L. can be combined with building the Red unions, and can be strengthened thereby, provided a correct united front policy is carried out.

Since June, all trade union questions have been dominated by the questions of policy regarding the *N.R.A.* For a time we had to conduct a sharp strug-

gle within the Party on two fronts, against the tendency represented by the idea of "boycotting" the *N.R.A.* and against the tendency to surrender to the illusions concerning the *N.R.A.*, to drag at the tail of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party. The latter, the open Right opportunist tendency, was the most serious and the most stubborn. Comrade Kuusinen has already in his report mention a few of the most crass examples. Some comrades were convinced that we would succeed in organizing mass unions only if we made them look before the workers as much like A. F. of L. unions as possible, in name, program and daily policy. Our fight to liquidate this tendency was helped considerably by the fact that as quickly as our comrades built unions in this fashion, they were immediately taken over by the reformist leaders, our people were kicked out of them without even any serious support among the workers.

Our Party and the Red unions came out openly and boldly against the *N.R.A.*, and exposed it as a general attack against the workers' standards, and as a movement toward fascism. In this we had to go sharply against the stream of mass illusions that had been aroused by the Roosevelt demagogy. These illusions were bolstered up for a few months by the rise in production, the opening of more factories, the appearance of "returning prosperity" brought about by the speculative market created for a time by inflation. When this speculative production broke down, when the factories began to close again, when it began to be clear that the N.R.A. itself had cut wages instead of raising them, the disillusionment of the workers which set in, greatly increased the prestige of our Party and the Red trade unions which had from the beginning told the workers what they now see to be the truth.

THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

Our work to build a broad united front of struggle against the N.R.A. led to the calling of the Cleveland Conference in August. This was called jointly by the Red unions, the Muste group of "Left" reformists, and a few independent union leaders and various unemployed organizations. This conference was very valuable to us, although it failed to build a real broad united front. The great body of the conference was composed of our own forces; besides ourselves and close sympathizers, only a small group of Muste leaders came. For us the conference was valuable, however, in that it was a good mobilization of our own forces for struggle against the N.R.A.; it was a broad school in the tactics and policies of the struggle; it was a public proclamation of our program; and it was a rehearsal for our forces in the problems of building the united front. With those Muste leaders who came, we had agreement on the most important questions of policy so long as it was writing general programs, against the N.R.A., for unification of the unemployment movement, etc. But we quickly came into conflict with them on the question of organizing the strike struggles in the steel industry, where the Red steel workers' union was already leading and winning strikes. This question already was too close and burning for the Muste group to commit itself to revolutionary responsibilities; we had an open clash with them in the Conference which cleared the air greatly, and educated our movement better than a hundred resolutions could have done

THE ANTI-WAR AND ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

Our most successful application of the united front has been in the anti-war and anti-fascist movement. We led a highly successful U. S. Congress Against War, which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country, and unanimously adopted a manifesto and program which is politically satisfactory. The composition of the Congress was overwhelmingly proletarian with a core of 450 trade union and shop delegates; it contained a very satisfactory youth delegation of about 500, a majority from reformist and socialist organizations, which in a special meeting openly accepted the leadership of the Y.C.L. in the Congress; a considerable delegation of farmers; representation from every important pacifist organization in the country; a group of local organizations of the Socialist Party and mass organizations under its influence; and a few important A. F. of L. trade unions with about 100,000 members. We also had a delegate from the U.S. Army. The Congress from the beginning was led by our Party quite openly but without in any way infringing upon its broad non-Party character, with the Party members at all times in a minority numerically, and leading by the quality of their work. This success was, of course, largely due to the very favorable situation, and the position of our Party as almost a monopolist of anti-war movement in the U.S. After the Congress a broad mass campaign has been launched to popularize its results, a campaign which has been highly successful, greatly helped throughout by the assistance of Henri Barbusse and Tom Mann, from France and England, whose presence added force and political significance to the Congress and the mass campaign carried on afterwards to popularize its work. The Congress set up a permanent organization on a federative basis, called the American League Against War and Fascism, which is publishing a popular monthly paper.

Our campaign of solidarity with the German working class and against German fascism has been growing and involving new circles of workers. The

American workers have been filled with enthusiasm by the magnificent defense, or rather counter-offensive, of the Communists in the Leipzig trial led by Comrade Dimitroff.

Especially effective for the U.S.A. was our exposure of the work of the Nazi organization in the United States, which was even taken up by bourgeois organizations and resulted in a criminal indictment of the Nazi leader in America, Heinz Spanknoebel, and his disappearance into hiding. We secured and published a secret Nazi letter, written from New York to Berlin, a document which has been placed in the records of New York City, and now in the last days before a Committee of the Congress of the United States, with expert testimony which substantiates its genuineness. The character of this document is so sensational that I understand there has been some hesitation in publishing and using it in Europe. I can assure you that the document is genuine. It is a letter written by W. Haag, adjutant to H. Spanknoebel, leader of the Nazi organization in the U.S., addressed on September 23 to "Uschle Berlin Alexanderplatz". The letter contains the following paragraph which I read:

> "I cannot find a place for Van Der Lubbe here, it is best if you throw him overboard into the ocean while enroute to another country. Whom do you intend to hang in his place in Germany? I agree with you entirely that it would be good to give the damned Communists in Leipzig an injection of syphilis. Then it can be said that Communism comes from syphilis of the brain."

The leading Nazi committee in New York held a special meeting, with one of their important American friends, Congressman Hamilton Fish (a leading enemy of the Soviet Union) and discussed the question whether they should not bring a court action against the *Daily Worker* for publishing this letter. Unfortunately they finally decided against bringing suit against the *Daily Worker,* evidently understanding that we would be able to establish its genuineness. After two months the document is now accepted as genuine by the bourgeois press of America, but they consistently refuse to publish the paragraph about Van der Lubbe, which I have quoted above, and confine themselves to the other parts of the letter which show the Nazi violation of American immigration laws, and the organizing of anti-semitic agitation in America.

WORK AMONG THE FARMERS

Our Party work among the farmers, leading their mass struggles and raising their political understanding, has improved in the past period. We now stand at the head of a growing mass movement, which marches under the chief slogan of cancellation of debts and back taxes, and which actively fights against the dispossession of the bankrupt farmers, and which establishes the closest unity with the city workers, employed and unemployed. This farmers' movement has just concluded its second national conference, with 660 delegates from 40, out of the total 48 states of the United States of America.

THE INNER SITUATION OF THE PARTY

A few words about the inner situation and growth of our Party. The Party leadership is fully united in carrying into effect the *Open Letter,* expressing the policy of the C.I., which was adopted at our Extraordinary Party Conference in July. The efforts of the Party to concentrate on the basic industries has given us the beginning of a growing trade union movement in almost every district. About a hundred new shop nuclei have been formed in the past five months, of which two-thirds are in the concentration industries; the proportion of Party membership in the shop nuclei has been raised from 4 per cent to 9 per cent. The Party membership which in 1932 rose from 12,000 to 18,000 dues payments per week, with 21,000 members registered in March, 1933, remained at about the same level until September when it began to rise again after the question had been sharply raised in the Party, and at the present moment the dues payments have risen to more than 20,000 per week, with more than 25,000 registered members. Our *Daily Worker* has broken out of its stagnation, improved its contents, and begun to grow in circulation, selling 45,000 copies daily in October, with 100,000 on Saturdays when the paper gets out a special edition. Our eight other daily newspapers in various languages have all registered some improvement politically and some growth of circulation, and the same can be said for most (although not all) of our eighteen foreign language weekly newspapers.

Our Party has made certain beginnings in carrying into effect the Open Letter, in becoming a mass Bolshevik Party. The beginnings have been uneven, and are not yet consolidated. The Party still lags far behind the objective possibilities. The danger of right opportunism, especially opportunism in practice, still shows itself in our work, and requires a constant struggle, a constant education of the new Party members and especially of the new cadres that are gradually being built up. Examples of "Left" opportunism, also, are often seen.

The last C.C. meeting of our Party stated the immediate most pressing tasks of the Party as follows:

"Special emphasis must be laid upon the daily tasks of every Party unit, fraction and committee to (a) recruit immediately into the Party the broad

surrounding circle of supporters and especially the most active fighters in the struggles now going on; (b) a real drive to establish mass circulation of the *Daily Worker* as an indispensable weapon of all struggles of the working class; to consolidate the improvements already made and to strengthen the *Daily Worker* as an agitator and organizer, and as an instrument to carry out the Open Letter; (c) build the revolutionary trade unions and opposition in the reformist unions, develop them as the real leaders of the growing struggles, paying special attention to the masses newly recruited into the A. F. of L. prepare for the coming convention of the T.U.J.L., clarify the role of the Communists and the Party fraction in the trade unions; (d) give serious attention to carrying out the Party decisions on building a mass youth movement and Y.C.L.; (e) develop and extend the mass movement of the unemployed, build the Unemployed Councils as the leading fighters for one united unemployed movement, and develop a broad mass campaign for unemployment insurance; (f) strengthen the work among the unions, unemployed councils, share-croppers' union, etc., and organize a broad national liberation movement in the L.S.N.R.; (g) more serious extension of the Party among the farmers, leadership and support Negroes, especially for winning them into the trade to their struggles, and practical assistance to the successful carrying out of the Second National Conference of the Farmers' Committee of Action; (h) to extend activities among working class women and draw them into struggle against the N.R.A. in factories, among unemployed and against the increased cost of living; (i) build the united front movement against war and fascism on the broadest basis."

The weakest point in all our Party mass work, from which most of our other shortcomings spring, is the weakness in bringing forward the revolutionary goal of our Party, the program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The deepening crisis, the growing misery of the masses, forces the workers to look for a way out. They want a leadership which can connect their daily problems with a wider perspective, with a possibility of final solution of their problems, with a program of building a new workers' state. They more and more realize that such a new society is being built in the Soviet Union. This opens their minds to what the Communist Party has to say to them. They want the Communist Party in their own country to give them the answers to all their questions, the question of power, the question of building the new society under American conditions, as well as the problems of the trade union and unemployed struggles. As we learn how to fulfill these demands of the American workers, we are succeeding, and we will more and more succeed, to build a mass movement of struggle around the Communist Party, building solid cadres which are more and more bolshevized, which will place on the order of the day in America, perhaps not as the last capitalist country in the world, the question of Soviet power, of proletarian revolution.

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